

THE SOCIAL SERVANT
IN THE MAKING

By the same author

THE NEW PHILANTHROPY with a wartime postscript
THE EQUIPMENT OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

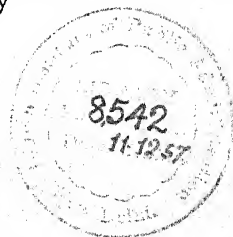
THE SOCIAL SERVANT IN THE MAKING

A review of the provision
of training for the
Social Services

by

ELIZABETH MACADAM
M.A.

With a Foreword by
S. W. HARRIS
C.B., C.V.O.



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FOREWORD

It must be a rare event for a pupil to be asked to introduce a book written by his professor. It is with something like this feeling and with a sense of obligation that I accepted with pleasure Miss Elizabeth Macadam's kind invitation to write a brief foreword to her latest book on the subject of training in the social services. Some years ago, when the need arose for training in a particular branch of social service for which the Home Office has the central responsibility, it was largely with Miss Macadam's advice that the experiment was launched and proved so fruitful in its results.

The social worker attached to the courts is faced with a large variety of problems which require for their solution not only a sense of vocation and gifts of personality, but also intimate knowledge of the background of the people he or she is trying to help. For candidates drawn from a wide diversity of occupations and with widely different attainments, practical training did not appear to suit the needs of all. Many of them with admirable personal qualifications seemed to require in addition the academic background which is so well described in Miss Macadam's own words :—

“ The wide range of teaching, the silent libraries, the contact with other minds, give the true student a wider outlook and a more liberal attitude of mind than can ever be attained in even the best of non-academic schemes of vocational training.”

The arrangement by which selected candidates for the probation service were sent to one of the Universities having a school of social science, proved to be a good investment which it is hoped may yield even better dividends after the war.

The importance of the social worker in an ever growing number of occupations is becoming recognized more and more and it is being realized also that if training alone cannot ensure a successful product, it can greatly increase the efficiency of a candidate who possesses the right personality. After the war there will return to civil life men and women who have had unusual opportunities of getting to know each other and of learning the difficult art of living in a community, and it may be hoped that many of these will turn their thoughts to a life of usefulness in one or other of the social services. To such men and women as well as to those who are planning new administrative measures involving some form of social work, this timely book of Miss Macadam's may be strongly commended.

S. W. HARRIS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It is nearly twenty years since I wrote *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, now out of print. This was the first and is still the only survey of the development of the movement for training for the social services in this country. The intervening years divide themselves into two periods—those before September, 1939, and the last five years when once again we have been at war. In the succeeding pages I attempt to bring my story up to the present time.

A graph of public interest in the social services during the last quarter of a century would show the peak of the reconstruction boom after the last war declining in the early twenties but slowly rising again up to the outbreak of war; then an inevitable sharp drop at the first shock of war, followed by a perceptible rise culminating with a sudden leap upwards towards the close of 1942. It was not an accident that this coincided with the publication of the Beveridge report. This report not only seized the imagination and awakened the social conscience of the citizen but it had repercussions on the movement for training for the social services. To-day, those of us who have all our lives been concerned with training find ourselves astonished and overwhelmed by the new interest shown by inquiries from the most unexpected sources, including large numbers of young men and women who dare to look forward from the tasks of war to possible future service in the tasks of peace.

I am well aware that the following pages make very elementary reading to those experienced in social studies or social administration. But there are many, some even in places of responsibility, who still have little conception of what social work means or why social workers should be trained. In view of the mist of obscurity which hangs over

the subject they can hardly be blamed. We, in this country, have been bred in a tradition of philanthropy and social service and have come to regard ourselves as possessing an inborn genius for its practice. In my youth we were told that a missionary spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice was the essential qualification. To-day the idiom has changed. Character, personality, personal aptitude, and practical experience are weighed against academic training to the discredit of the latter. There is some truth in these views but it is not the whole truth. The social worker, like the doctor, preacher, teacher, artist, or craftsman, is born not made and inborn personal qualities must stand high. But not less than in education, religion, medicine, or art, must natural gifts be reinforced by knowledge, understanding, and practice.

I realize that my own claim to authoritative opinion has receded with the years; that long association with the movement may be regarded by a younger generation as a drawback rather than a qualification. But my task in attempting to bring my book up to date is greatly lightened by the knowledge that younger thinkers in the field as well as in the lecture room are alive to the importance of the subject and that my efforts will be supplemented as the war draws to a close by well-informed studies and reports on its different aspects. I am also only too conscious of the defects of a book started in a leisurely fashion before the war and written and rewritten with constant and prolonged interruptions during the last five years. The result is inevitably patchy and lacking in balance. But owing to the topical interest in the subject and the slowness of war publication I must send it to the printers without further delay trusting to an addition of later notes in the appendix.

It would take too long to acknowledge the help I have received from many sources. Eleanor Rathbone has read some of my chapters and made valuable criticisms. Miss

Hilda Martindale and Miss F. I. Taylor, H.M. Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories, have read my chapter on the Personnel of the Statutory Social Services, and Miss Martindale has allowed me to quote from one of her unpublished lectures. For secretarial help in difficult circumstances I am indebted to Mrs. Godfray Sellick, Mrs. Blake, and Miss Bateman.

In my earlier book I had the privilege of an introduction from the late Professor J. H. Muirhead, one of a group of teachers of philosophy who have been associated with the movement for training for social service and a former chairman of the Joint University Council. This time I gratefully acknowledge a foreword from a distinguished Civil Servant, Mr. S. W. Harris, C.B., C.V.O., to whom we owe the first practical experiment in training for the public services in co-operation with the universities.

In conclusion I ought to make it clear that the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration, which I have had the privilege of serving as Joint Honorary Secretary for the past twenty-five years, is not in any way responsible for any of the views expressed. I have, however, quoted freely from its published reports as the most authoritative expression of collective opinion in this country, especially as some of them are now out of print.

ELIZABETH MACADAM.

August, 1944.

Notes in Appendix added November, 1944.

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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL STUDY

Our first aim must be to try to clear away the mists which surround the heavily worked, often abused terms "social work", "welfare", and "social study". It is a commonplace to say that the present century has seen in this country the erection of a unique structure of social services. We are proud of this structure but those who have inside knowledge have long known only too well its vulnerable spots—its scrappiness, the inadequate provision here, the over-lapping there, the delays, the waste of time, effort, and money, the unconstructive unscientific attitude, and above all the absence of any plan for the suitable education and training both for those responsible for legislation and policy and those concerned with individual diagnosis and treatment.

The first, and so far the only logical official attempt to classify the social services appeared in 1920 in a return to Parliament ¹ which was issued annually up to the present war. This set out expenditure under legislation covering employment and health insurance, widows, orphans, old age and war pensions, and orphans, maternity, and child welfare, housing, and public assistance. Though this return has been criticized with some justice both for what it includes and what it excludes, it marked an important step forward and put the social services as a closely interconnected group for the first time on the map. In the years before the war much time was wasted in the futile discussion of what exactly were and were not social services. To-day, with the Beveridge report in our hands, all this fumbling as to definition is at an end. A master architect has taken the existing services, clumsily perched one on top of the other

¹ Public Social Services (total expenditure under certain Acts of Parliament). Last issued 1938. H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, W.C. 2.

since the last great survey of 1909,¹ and has produced the design of a new structure, close-fitting, simplified, and adapted to modern needs in which he groups the services which offer provision for the elementary needs of life, unemployment, sickness, disability, accident, marriage, maternity, widowhood, old age in a proposed new Ministry of Social Security.

But it is not claimed that this new Ministry shall have a monopoly of the social services. On the contrary the report points out that freedom from want is only one of man's essential freedoms. "Any plan for social security must assume a concerted social policy in many fields most of which it would be inappropriate to discuss in this report." . . . "There are some who will say that pursuit of security . . . is a wholly inadequate aim. Their view is not merely admitted but asserted in the Report itself. *The Plan for Social Security is put forward as part of a general programme of social policy.* It is one part only of an attack upon five giant evils: upon the physical Want with which it is directly concerned, upon Disease which causes want and brings many troubles in its train, upon Ignorance which no democracy can afford among its citizens, upon the Squalor which arises mainly through haphazard distribution of industry and population, and upon the Idleness which destroys wealth and corrupts men, whether they are well fed or not when they are idle. In seeking security not merely against these evils in all their forms and in showing that security can be combined with freedom and enterprise and responsibility of the individual for his own life, the British community and those who in other lands have inherited the British tradition have a vital service to render to human progress." ²

¹ The Royal Commission on Poor Laws, 1909.

² Social Insurance and Allied Services—Cmd. 6904, 1942. Report by Sir William Beveridge, Part VI, Paragraphs 409, 456. The italics are mine.

Thus the social services may be described as those which grouped together in a concerted policy are concerned with efforts to conquer the five giant evils of want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and unemployment. All functional distinctions such as those which have existed between health, education, industrial and welfare services are swept away. The difference between them as we shall see later is that of approach, emphasis, and specialization.

It does not come within the scope of my subject to discuss the best methods of synchronization of these different approaches. At present there are roughly six central departments engaged in combating those "giant evils"—The Ministry of Health, the Assistance Board, the Board of Education, the Ministry of Pensions, the Home Office, the Ministry of Labour, as well as the Local Authorities with their wide range of activities. There are, of course, other departments which directly or indirectly have far-reaching social responsibilities, such as the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Mines Department, the Public Trustee Office, or turning from our own shores, the Colonial Office responsible for Crown Colonies, whose problems dwarf our own. Social planners have for many years urged a better co-ordinated policy, which is the essence of the Beveridge Scheme, and if our Social Services are to be reconstructed to cover the whole field in the future much re-thinking is necessary.

There are, however, signs already not only of a closer integration but of a far more liberal and honourable interpretation of the term social work. Social workers may broadly be divided into two main classes. First and by far the largest (I would add also the most important) consists of men and women engaged in the already established professions which have their own specific qualifications, but which bring their members into contact directly or indirectly with social problems. Of these Social Medicine has been the

first to receive full recognition, but there are many others such as the Church, Education, the Law, Architecture and Housing, Administration of Justice, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, and the higher branches of the Civil and Local Government Service concerned with policy, application, and following up. In the wide and literal sense of the term, all of these are social in their character, but for the actual social treatment the specialist must be called in as part of the team. Such trained workers in the narrower sense of the term comprise my second and much smaller class. The range of their work is shown in the following lists :—

Social Services under Public Departments, Central and Local.

Principals and Assistant Principals in different branches of the Civil Service; Factory Inspectors; Inspectors under National Insurance; Trade Board and Pension Acts; Inspectors of Boarded-out Children; Health Visitors; Industrial Nurses; Secretaries to Employment Exchanges and to Juvenile Employment Committees; Organizers of Children's Care Committees; Child Welfare Workers; *Youth Leaders; *House Property Managers; *Personnel *Managers in Factories or other Commercial or Industrial Undertakings; Women Police; Probation Officers; Investigators and Visitors for Public Assistance or the Assistance Board; *Hospital Almoners; *Psychiatric Social Workers; Welfare Workers for different duties under Local Authorities.

Social Work under Control of Voluntary Bodies.¹

Organizing Secretaries of Charity Organization Society and Councils of Social Welfare; Child Welfare Societies; Societies for the Blind; Citizens Advice Bureaux; Youth Leaders and Club Workers; Workers for the Social Activities of Churches and Religious Organizations; Moral Welfare Workers; Organizers of Community Centres or Rural Organizations; Settlement Workers.

¹ See also those openings marked with an asterisk in the first list which are found in connection with both public departments and voluntary associations.

It is true that some of these occupations may be said to belong equally to both classes; for instance, as we shall see later, the health visitor is part "medical" and part "social". The district nurse or the midwife, who in a rural area finds herself the nearest available approach to a social worker, combines advice on social needs with her own professional work.

It is not too much to say that the better the members of my first class do their work, the less necessary will become the second. But both in varying degree need social knowledge and understanding, to enable them to fulfil their different functions in the service of the community.

It is of course primarily of those who will be engaged in a proposed Ministry of Security that Sir William Beveridge is speaking when he formulates the second of his two points of outstanding importance in its organization: the "selection and training of staff with special regard to their functions in serving the public and in understanding the human problems with which they will be confronted."¹ But Sir William would agree that careful selection and training is equally needed for all engaged in the attack on his five giant evils. It is impossible not to wish that he had himself dealt more fully with the difficult problem of education and training for the Statutory Services. No one could have done it better than the writer of this report, who is head of an Oxford College, the former Director of the London School of Economics, and at one time himself a civil servant.

This brings me now from my attempt to interpret social work with its wide sweep and constantly changing method to the even more indefinable region of "social study". It is natural to ask what should constitute the equipment for social workers as above described, particularly the great body of servants of the State which in recent years have been so strongly augmented and to which new and far reaching

¹ Beveridge Report, par. 385 (b).

responsibilities will soon be entrusted. The succeeding chapters of this book is an attempt to re-view the answer I made to the same question nearly twenty years ago in the light of the changes which the years have brought.

Social study or social science is of course nothing new in the universities. "In the etymological sense of the term it has been pursued for generations as a part or an aspect of Philosophy, Law and History, and Economics. The forms of social activity concerned with the functions and methods of the State have more recently been introduced into the Universities in systematized courses commonly called Political Science or Public Administration. But Social Study as the term is now used differs from all these in spirit, in method, and in purpose. In spirit because it is distinctly and continuously conscious of the close interconnection of all the several sides of human life in society. In method because the formal academic instruction is closely associated with 'practical work' outside the Universities by which is meant the acquiring of first hand knowledge of social conditions and of personal experience in the working of social institutions. In purpose because it invites students who intend to devote themselves to 'social work' whether as officials of public bodies or organizations, as members of local authorities or as public spirited citizens." ¹

A School of Social Study as we understand it to-day is a department of the university in which the very different subjects which may be grouped together under the comprehensive heading social science are taught not only in close relation to each other but to actual social and economic conditions. Such schools have now been established in most of the universities in Great Britain and Ireland.² The arguments in favour of the university as the centre and the

¹ This paragraph has been adapted almost as it stood from the first report issued by the Joint University Council now out of print and written by the late Mr. St. G. Heath to whom the movement owes much.

² See Appendix for list of training schools.

methods adopted will be developed in a subsequent chapter.

The growth of social study in the above sense of the term in this country has been slow but the fifty years of experiment have not been without achievement.¹ The United States with its youthful agility in seizing new ideas and translating them into action has out-distanced us in the recognition of social work as a profession and in their provision for its training. But there, as here, many problems still await solution. The last war gave an unexpected impetus to the movement and it seems probable that the return of peace after the present war will offer once again a great opportunity if social organizations and the universities together are prepared to grasp it with both hands.

¹ The first training scheme was started early in the nineties by the Women's University Settlement; the first University Course in 1903.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRAINING MOVEMENT, 1890-1944

In the field of ideas it is not always easy to know who first sowed the seed. But there can be no doubt that in this country at all events the movement for systematic training of social workers began in a small way with classes arranged in the early nineties by the late Margaret Sewell, Warden of the Women's University Settlement. Many of Miss Sewell's friends regret that only scraps on this subject are preserved; she had a singularly clear vision of future trends of social work in this country and of the intellectual disciplines required for those who took part in it. I was indeed fortunate to secure a chapter from her for my previous book, which outlined the beginnings of training. I have only space here to quote a few sentences.¹

"The end of the nineteenth century," she writes, "saw the foundations of Councils and Societies, of College Missions and Settlements, the beginning, in fact, of serious thoughtful and organized effort to tackle social ills not only as part of personal religion, but as a social obligation; not merely as an expression of sympathy but as a recognition of difficulties urgently presenting themselves to be solved, and demanding for their solution gifts of the head as well as of the heart. It is significant of this new aspect that the universities took a leading part in the reorganization of so-called charity, and that the leading movements were largely recruited and in many instances initiated by men and women from the universities, and it followed almost of course that the need of some sort of specialized educational equipment was speedily recognized." In this last sentence we find the earliest suggestion of the obligation of the universities for the education of the social worker.

¹ See *Equipment of the Social Worker*, chap. ii. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. o.p.

In 1897 these pioneer experiments expanded under a joint committee consisting of representatives of the Settlement, the Charity Organization Society, and the National Union of Women Workers (now the National Council of Women). In 1901 this committee was replaced by The London School of Sociology and Economics with Professor Urwick, to whom the movement owes much, at its head.

The direct connection of the universities with social training dates from 1904. In that year the late Professor Gonner (later Sir Edward Gonner) on the suggestion of his friend Sir Charles Loch, the late Secretary and genius of the Charity Organization Society, established what was then called the School of Social Science as the outcome of arrangements between the University of Liverpool, the Victoria Settlement for Women, and the Liverpool Central Relief and Charity Organization Society.¹ It was not until 1917, however, that this School became fully incorporated in the University.

The University of Birmingham was, in 1908, the first actually to register social students as internal students of the university and to accept full responsibility for their training. This was followed by the Universities of Bristol, Leeds, and Manchester. In 1912 the London School of Sociology became incorporated as the Social Science department of the London School of Economics and Political Science. About the same time a training course was started in Edinburgh which led the way to the present Department of the University. The Glasgow School for Social Study under an independent committee but closely associated with the University was started in 1912.²

Developments in Liverpool early put into practice the

¹ It is interesting to note that the first suggestion that Universities should become responsible for the training of social workers came with many other original and constructive ideas from the late Secretary of the Charity Organization Society.

² Now incorporated in the University.

principle which is only now beginning to receive due attention, that social studies include widely different aspects of university teaching. The Board of Studies in Social Sciences and Administration includes among its members professors and lecturers in Philosophy, Psychology, Economics, Modern History, Geography, Commerce, Social Science, and Public Administration, with co-opted members representing outside interests.

The last war gave an unexpected stimulus to the new training movement. The demand for trained workers in certain fields soon out-ran the supply and for the first time social study departments won official recognition. The welfare department of the Ministry of Munitions, finding it impossible to procure an adequate supply of trained workers, offered grants to selected students for intensive training provided by the Universities to meet the emergency. Towards the end of the war a wave of interest in social reconstruction swept over the country and training once again became the fashion. Schemes of all kinds, good, bad and indifferent, sprang into being.

In London among the innumerable reconstruction committees of the period a temporary Joint Social Studies Committee was set up to consider standards of training for full time courses and to encourage the provision of opportunities of instruction for large numbers of men and women of all ages and classes who when peace was declared were impelled to offer themselves, as the slogan of the moment put it, as recruits for "the War against Poverty". The efforts of this committee not only encouraged the provision of university extension and other extra-mural instruction on social subjects, but following a conference at the Home Office in 1917 on social training, led to the formation of the Joint University Council for Social Studies. This Council held its first meeting in April, 1918. Its members consisted of representatives of universities with Social Study depart-

ments and Colleges, with five persons co-opted because of their personal experience or interest. Its avowed object was "the co-ordination and development of the work of Social Study departments in the Universities". But it soon found that its most useful contribution was to establish contacts between university teachers and those responsible for administration of different kinds. From time to time this council held conferences or set up committees of its own members in consultation with representatives of the statutory or voluntary social services and its published reports and memoranda, many of which are now out of print, did much to advance knowledge of a new and little understood venture. In 1935 a development of some importance took place. The council enlarged its membership to include teachers of public administration and altered its name accordingly.¹ At the present time it includes representatives from nineteen universities and university colleges and after the first disruptive period at the outbreak of war its activities have been very considerably increased.

Meanwhile developments were taking place in the different universities. The official recognition extended during the last war awakened local interest and brought the movement into greater prominence. The story of the early post-war years is told in my first book and need not here be repeated. But since its appearance in 1925 much has happened which closely affects future policy and methods which I shall attempt to sketch in their chronological order.

In 1927 the "Child Guidance" movement penetrated this country from the United States and with generous financial assistance from the American Commonwealth Fund the Child Guidance Council with a Child Guidance Clinic was established. The object of this Council was "to encourage the provision of skilled treatment of children

¹ Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration, 5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1. A Review of Work, 1918-1944. 6d.

showing temperamental disturbances and early symptoms of disorder". Its methods constitute an approach to mental disorder by means of a team of experts which include trained social workers side by side with medical and psychological specialists. This insistence on the specialist character of social work and the consequent need for definite training has had repercussions on the whole social training movement. One of its immediate results was the institution of a scheme of training for psychiatric social workers originally financed by the Commonwealth Fund as part of the Social Science Department of the London School of Economics. Twelve years later and, unfortunately eclipsed so far as the general public was concerned by the outbreak of war, the publication of the Feversham Report "The Voluntary Mental Health Services",¹ reaffirmed the place of trained social workers as part of the team of practitioners who deal with mental health problems. The war brought any attempt to implement its proposals for the amalgamation of the mental welfare services to a standstill, though a joint Mental Health Emergency Committee formed of representatives of the three leading services did constructive work in connection with war problems on the home front. At present this temporary war time committee has been replaced by a provisional National Council for Mental Health.

The next event of importance was a remarkable assembly of over a thousand social workers drawn from over thirty nations held in Paris in 1928 at a time when a new spirit of International peace and unity, too soon, alas, dispelled, was filling the hearts of men.² Not the least striking feature of this great gathering was the representation of Government Departments from many different countries and the close interest shown by the International Labour Office, which

¹ The Voluntary Mental Health Services. Report of Feversham Committee, 47 Whitehall Court, 1939.

² This conference was succeeded by two others; the first in London in 1932 and the second in Frankfurt in 1936.

was represented by no less a person than its late distinguished Secretary, M. Albert Thomas. At this Conference one of the main sectors was devoted to principles and methods of training and an International Committee of Schools of Social Training, under the leadership of Dr. Alice Saloman of Berlin (now an exile in New York), was formed.

Another international development must here be recorded. The social and humanitarian aspects of the work of the League of Nations in post war years are too little known to the general public. In 1938 its Advisory Committee on Social Questions included in its reference the subject of training; a sub-committee with Mr. S. W. Harris of the Home Office as *rapporteur* was appointed, but unfortunately the outbreak of war interrupted its labours.

At home too, social workers were drawn closer together and in the year 1935 a British Federation of Social Workers was formed which stood for adequate professional training as one of the main planks of its platform.¹ It was significant that at a recent conference organized by this Federation representatives of the leading Government Departments concerned with the social services attended a meeting on the subject of training and took part in the discussion.

We turn next to the beginning of active co-operation in training between the Government and social study departments, which to those of my colleagues and myself who have worked for this end for many years seems indeed a dream come true. As I pointed out in my first book, the short-lived Ministry of Munitions gave a lead in this direction which was continued by the Home Office both during the last war and now again at the present time. In another branch of its activities the Home Office once again showed its appreciation of the value of training by an interesting experiment. Selected candidates for probation work were given two years' training in the social study departments of the Universities

¹ British Federation of Social Workers, 5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

of London, Birmingham, and Liverpool combined with practical experience in the courts. The report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction which appeared in 1936 confirmed the success of this experiment and recommended the appointment of a central training board on which the appointing authorities and the universities should be represented. This testimony to the importance of trained social work coming not from theorists or from social workers themselves but from an official committee carried the recognition of the training movement an important step further.

Then followed the supreme test of another war. Once again history repeated itself. In its early stages of feverish preparation before and after war was declared, social workers were apparently forgotten. Many were "called up" for unskilled occupations regardless of their previous training. As a single instance of this, one trained psychiatric social worker was told she could be found more useful work at a telephone exchange! Hospital almoners became unemployed as the hospitals emptied their wards of civilian cases, as events showed unnecessarily, with disastrous results to many of the patients thus ejected. The great mass experiment of child evacuation was largely undertaken by untrained volunteers,¹ so far as its social bearing were concerned. No immediate attempt was made to anticipate the problems bound to arise through the influx of thousands of women into industry. The urgency of the need for women police and patrols for the protection of the young proved in the last war was forgotten. Hostels and rest centres for homeless air-raided victims were staffed by well meaning but inexperienced amateurs. The highly delicate and skilled social work of billeting homeless and evacuated families was under-

¹ I do not underrate the admirable work done by teachers themselves of which I have myself evidence, or the success of this great experiment taken as a whole.

taken (with outstanding exceptions here and there by progressive local authorities) by miscellaneous officials instead of by those trained on Octavia Hill lines in House Property Management.

This deplorable state of affairs happily righted itself (not, however, before much harm was done) and to an even greater degree than in the last war social workers succeeded in finding their rightful place. A few of the more notable training developments of the last few years outlined here are discussed more fully in later chapters.

Perhaps the most important development in training was almost identical with a similar experiment in the last war already mentioned. The Ministry of Munitions, later the Home Office, sent selected candidates for what was then called welfare work in factories to social study departments in the universities for intensive courses of training. As was pointed out earlier, this was in fact the first formal official recognition of social training. During the present war, regardless of experience gained in the last war, it was not until the need became glaringly apparent that similar action was adopted by the Ministry of Labour¹ and later by the Ministry of Supply and Ministry of Aircraft Production. Four universities were asked to provide a succession of short emergency courses of academic instruction for what is now designated "personal management" sandwiched with an intermediary month actually spent in a factory. Such courses have been carried on almost without cessation since 1940 up to the present time and over 700 candidates have been trained. An interesting fact which deserves notice and will receive comment later is that permission was asked for several candidates for the Colonial industrial service to attend these courses.

Another development still in an early stage which also

¹ The factory department was transferred from the Home Office to the Ministry of Labour in June, 1940.

offers an almost precise parallel to events at the end of the last war is the provision of short courses of intensive study for "youth leaders" organized jointly by Education and Social Study Departments. Let us hope that these efforts to-day will not meet the same frustration as those carried out after the Fisher Act of 1918.

A new and welcome repercussion of the present war is the greater appreciation of the need for planned welfare facilities in almost every branch of Government activity. Some Departments have appointed trained social workers or advisory committees with members of special experience. Everywhere the same tendency is to be found—in the Ministry of Health with its regional officers, the Ministry of Labour, the different War Services, and the War Ministries. The same trend is also visible in the different Local Government Services. The Ministry of Health which now has its own Welfare Department and its own regional officers strongly urges such appointments especially for the work of evacuation, billeting, hostels, and general family case work problems. In addition to this the war has brought a much greater demand for psychiatric social workers, hospital almoners, and house property managers; it is quite usual nowadays to see advertisements from Local Authorities no longer drafted with vague references to "welfare" experience but demanding a social science diploma. This war has at last brought some knowledge of what social work means to local as well as Central Government. The importation of a dozen or more of trained Canadian social workers scattered throughout the country under different Local Authorities has, it is hoped, resulted in more widespread enlightenment.

Finally at the time of writing an experiment which marks a further and very welcome stage in the story of training is taking place. The development of the social services in the West Indies under the guidance of Professor T. S. Simey

has led to the realization of the need of a trained staff. Certain selected students as we have seen elsewhere have already been trained in this country, but recently a course of training has been established in Jamaica. The fact that *The Times* devoted a well informed leading article to the discussion of this development based on the experience along similar lines gained in this country is yet another proof that the social services and the need for training have at last arrived. Other examples of co-operation between public departments and the universities will be reviewed later but this brief outline of the progress of the last fifty years would be incomplete without some mention of the encouragement given to the training movement by the National Association of Local Government Officers, which has not only given financial support to departments of Public Administration in several universities and to the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration but has steadily supported a high standard of training. The Institute of Public Administration has also co-operated with the universities, and at its conferences and in its journal has given the movement its consistent support.

So much for a rough sketch of actual achievement which will be amplified in later chapters. So far good but much remains to be done.

CHAPTER 3

THE UNIVERSITY AS CENTRE

In an earlier chapter it was recognized that "social work" is a vague and elastic term which covers a large variety of occupations, some of which call for professional qualifications of different kinds with social study only supplementary to other training. Though this book assumes that the university is the centre for the training of social workers, it is not considered essential that a university degree or even a diploma in social science should be the aim of all such workers. As in other professions, there are different levels of preparation required; we are here concerned with those which aim at both a high standard of education and professional equipment.

It must, however, at once be admitted that opinion is by no means unanimous that the university is the right centre for the training of social workers. It may, therefore, be useful at this stage to recapitulate the arguments on both sides. Such opposition as there was to the university in the early years of the movement was doubly formidable, coming as it did not only from the administrative side but from the universities themselves. I shall endeavour to show how the fog of mutual suspicion gradually cleared.

We turn first to the objections raised by the organizations concerned. It will be remembered that the first experiments in training were made at a university settlement in co-operation with the Charity Organization Society and that the pioneer schemes of training came into being as the offspring of a union between social organizations and the universities. With such a mixed parentage it was perhaps hardly surprising that problems arose.

The practical bodies had genuine and not altogether ill-

founded fears that the universities were not in a position to supply the experience which they considered essential. They feared that classroom study would "choke out the real thing", the human approach; they feared that training removed from the centres of activity to the cloistered atmosphere of the university would inevitably become less applied and realist in its bearings. Employing bodies and committees at the beginning of the century were much less tempted by the lure of university degrees than they are to-day. They looked for solid qualities such as capacity for hard work, technical efficiency, tact, a sense of vocation or missionary spirit (an essential quality especially in the eyes of those who offered very small salaries), which are not necessarily the product of the lecture room. Religious organizations, more narrowly segregated than at the present time, dreaded secular contacts and feared that the religious motive might be stifled by free discussion and a scientific outlook on social problems.

On the other hand the universities, especially the older universities, while accepting the responsibility of education for well established professions—law, medicine, the Church, and education—were reluctant to admit the claims of an unfamiliar hybrid occupation even when it cloaked its humble origin under the dignified title of public or social administration. Even the younger civic universities, which opened their doors to students of architecture, town planning, engineering, dentistry, agriculture, looked with misgivings on the inclusion of a form of training for so multifarious and ill-defined a career.

All universities were reluctant to multiply diploma or certificate courses and facilities for post graduate study were limited. They dreaded a dilution of their own standards for the sake of a profession which had scarcely yet formulated its own requirements and was (and is still) largely recruited from those without a university education.

Further, while offering branches of study such as economics, philosophy, history for the education of those whose future callings require knowledge of such subjects, the university, it was argued, does not and should not possess facilities for vocational teaching and practical experience. It is admitted that practice in the case of other professions is provided. The medical student can walk university hospital wards; the engineer can work with his hands in the university workshops; the chemist can experiment in its laboratories. But the social worker must seek experience in organizations of which the university as such has no knowledge and can accept no responsibility. Further the university teacher of an older generation was lukewarm about practical work; he might give it lip service, but in his heart he grudged the pre-occupation of the student with activities incompatible, in his opinion, with complete intellectual concentration.

Among many factors which led to a better understanding, perhaps the most important are to be found in the changes which have taken place during the last quarter of a century inside the universities and not less in all forms of social organizations.

In the first place, the universities young and old are taking an increasing share in public affairs. Their teachers serve on important commissions, boards, and committees and are responsible for research on social subjects in many different fields. A typical example of this is the famous Beveridge report, the work of the master of an Oxford college. The university teacher of to-day far more generally than in the past (though there were outstanding exceptions in the fertile nineties) is a good citizen as well as a scholar. An inquiry undertaken shortly before the war by the Joint University Council gave convincing proof of the wide range of outside public and social work as well as research in which their university teachers are engaged, greatly to the benefit of their teaching as well as of the community.

Not less important is the vital change in the character of the teaching. Impelled by the needs of the times much greater attention is paid to the growth and development of the social services, both in degree courses and in extra-mural teaching; and as we shall see later, such subjects are to-day taught with a close bearing on actual human life and its problems.

Equally have the leading social organizations moved with the times. A new technique of partnership between statutory and voluntary effort has been evolved and there are signs of a healthy interchange of workers between the two.¹ Social work is no longer the preserve of the middle-aged well-to-do spinster and the retired civil servant or business man; its boundaries have extended; its standards are higher and more exacting. An increasing number of young men and women both inside and outside the universities are eager to devote themselves to some form of public or social work as a career, in preference to some of the better known professions, and recent years have brought wider opportunities of doing so. The social activities of the Churches and religious societies have also undergone changes. They are less narrow and self-contained than they used to be. The dividing line between secular and religious agencies so sharply drawn in my youth no longer holds. In short social administration has become a profession in the best sense of the word with its own high standards for entrance and training.

It would therefore appear to be self evident that the university should be the centre of training for this new profession. The university alone has the many sided scholarship which preserves the essential oneness of the social sciences. Departments of social hygiene, of industrial psychology, of social justice and other modern develop-

¹ *The New Philanthropy*—a study in the relations between the statutory and voluntary social services with a war time postscript, 1943, by Elizabeth Macadam. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

ments should, allied with social studies, find under one roof, figuratively at least, their true home. There is a grave danger in isolation in the teaching of particular aspects of social problems, especially those dealing with abnormalities which, dealt with separately, fall completely out of focus.

Further, the university is the best centre for training because of the nature of its teaching. The emphasis is placed on the right attitude of mind towards society and human progress as a foundation for methods and organization. A background of theory and social philosophy is indispensable for the social student if he hopes to attain high rank in his profession. He must be taught to question, think, criticize, and appreciate. But such a background is not only important as part of the equipment of those who direct policy or lead in the field of action. It is not less necessary for the man or woman concerned with personal relationships. To deny opportunities of such study to the social worker whose task will fall in a changing and complicated society is to degrade social work to a second rate occupation requiring for its various services second rate minds crammed with facts.

University control provides a guarantee against the very real danger of political or other forms of propaganda. The fact that social politics border so nearly on party politics is a strong reason why candidates for training should come under the influence of men and women who should be relied upon to preserve as impartial an attitude as it is possible to attain. "The University teacher may be too narrow or too academic but there is something in the atmosphere and traditions of a university which guards against the exploitation of teaching for political or sectarian ends."¹ There are those who dread a middle class bias but when it is remembered that an ever increasing percentage of university students climb the ladder from the elementary

¹ *University Training Courses*, Joint University Council, o.p.

school, this danger diminishes every year and in any case it is a risk which may be found equally in any alternative method of training.

The intellectual interests of the student cannot be overlooked, especially the student who proposes to adopt a career which will absorb him almost completely in concrete and practical problems. It is hardly possible to overestimate the value of the university spirit during his introduction to the hard facts of modern economic conditions. When in his historical studies he projects himself into the life of the past and relates it to the present, he gains strength and maturity of judgment which will be of value to him in the future in which he hopes to play a part. The wide range of teaching, the silent libraries, the contact with other minds give the true student a wider outlook and a more liberal attitude of mind than can ever be attained in even the best of non-academic schemes of vocational training.

Material considerations for the student's career point the same way. There are many different branches of social work but in some the demand is limited or inclined to fluctuate; it is therefore important that workers should be able to pass readily from one to another. But there are other even more important reasons why this freedom of transfer should be possible. The man or woman who has served his apprenticeship in voluntary organizations which as a rule offer more freedom of experiment and wider outside contacts should in the course of time be able to use his experience in some form of public service. The possibility of this mobility is frustrated by a diversity of standards of training; a student trained intensively for some particular branch of social or religious work is tied hand and foot to that branch unless he can afford time or money for further training. Moreover, there is an undesirable sense of uncertainty and lack of continuity in training schemes fostered by this or that body for their own ends. The university provides an element of permanence and

its degree or diploma will secure recognition when other more evanescent efforts have disappeared.

So far we have considered the value of university provision of social training from the point of view of the student himself and from the importance of a high standard for his future profession. But there is another not less important consideration—the influence on the university and from the university to the world outside. Many years ago a professor in an American university pleading for a department of social training said: "The university is the workshop of our democracy . . . a university needs a school for social work." ¹

In our own country to-day a professor in a British university makes a similar plea: "If a university is to fulfil its function as an organ of civilization it must engage in active study of the civilization of the world which it is its business to serve, and particularly of its own region. This study is the special function of a school of social science but all departments of the university should feel their share in that responsibility. The establishment of schools of social studies should represent something more than the addition of another subject to the curriculum. Such a school should be an organ for developing a sense of the relevance of academic study to contemporary life and thus giving a sense of common purpose to the work of the various separate departments of the university, and for promoting and making more alive the connection between the university and the outside world." ²

Not the least valuable function of the school of social study is to break down the subconscious antagonism between gown and town. All departments of the university in one way or another seek to serve the State and to educate its

¹ *Education and Training for Social Work*, by James H. Tufts. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

² "The Function of the University," *The Journal of Education*, 1944, by Professor M. V. C. Jeffreys.

servants and citizens. The school of social study is an amphibious body which requires two elements for its very existence. It belongs to the university and it belongs to the community; it derives its strength in equal parts from both. Its influence should permeate other faculties and in turn it will receive as much as it gives. Education and medicine have already annexed the ubiquitous prefix "social"; other university departments—theology, architecture, commerce, engineering, mining will follow, for in social strategy many lines of attack are called for. In the past, schools of social study starved of resources and funds have been poor relations of the university, grateful for the crumbs that fell from other departments and an occasional nod of recognition from a pundit in Whitehall. The time has come to change all that. The recent Nuffield benefactions have given the final testimony to the high place of social studies, and social study departments with their own professorial chair and qualified staff must in the future find their rightful place in the hierarchy of the university.¹

¹ Since the above chapter was written the report of the Committee appointed to consider the supply, recruitment of teachers and youth leaders (the McNair Report) has been issued. H.M. Stationery Office, 2s. This Committee is equally divided on the part which should be played by the universities and this difference of opinion has a bearing on social studies. See Appendix.

CHAPTER 4

ACADEMIC STUDIES

Though pioneer schemes of social study in the nineties represented mainly unambitious attempts to study facts about existing conditions and methods of treatment, the importance of a philosophical approach was shown by the inclusion of lectures by such scholars as Sir Charles Loch and Bernard and Helen Bosanquet. In a report of the London School of Sociology issued as early as 1911 the choice of subjects is discussed in terms which carry equal weight thirty years later.

"There is in sociology, more than in most subjects a temptation to concentrate one's attention upon the interesting 'ends' of the study—the special and separate problems of immediate interest which it is always possible to approach with very little preliminary investigation of social principles or of social history. This form of sociological study may not be valueless; but it is clear that it is not the form with which the best student or the best teacher can be content."

A report of a committee of the British Association published in 1943 discussing education for the public service sounds the same note of warning when it speaks of the temptation, where an abundance of available data is available, to heap up information rather than exercise intelligence and judgment.¹

The conflict between "ends" on the one hand and social history and principles on the other is not yet over. Only the other day a well-known social worker in a public speech derided university teaching in social studies as remote from practical day to day needs; personal experience is pitted

¹ Report on Education for the Public Service Committee on post-war University Education. British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1943.

against academic studies as if they were rival forces instead of co-equal parts of the intellectual make-up of the social administrator. In the selection of subjects, universities fight shy with some justification of snippets of technical subjects which they claim can be better taught in association with the practical work. Possibly they overdo this with the result that a dual system of training is springing up in some directions. In a thoughtful paper on the function of the university a university teacher boldly faces the place of technique when he asks, "How are the universities to become more responsive to needs of society and their own opportunities? . . . It is their business to discover, in consultation with the relevant practitioners, what lines of research, for example, are likely to be most helpful to the understanding and development of the technique of broadcasting or what grouping of subjects would make the best course in social studies for a diplomat or a factory welfare officer."¹ Here, as everywhere, a middle way must be found.

The influence of the early experiments of the pioneer school above referred to on the development of the new movement is indicated by the following analysis of subjects outlined in the first publication of the Joint University Council of Social Studies in 1918.²

"(a) An historic account of the origin of existing social and economic conditions with particular stress on the more recent stages of their evolution.

"(b) A description of present-day social and economic life.

"(c) The analysis of economic facts together with an introduction to methods of investigation.

"(d) The discussion of the principles and methods of social administration, including industrial law, the functions

¹ "The Function of the University," *The Journal of Education*, by Professor M. V. C. Jeffreys, 1944.

² *Social Study and Training at the Universities*, 1918, out of print, written by the late J. St. G. Heath.

and organs of local government, and the working of voluntary agencies.

“(e) A philosophical statement and examination of social principles, aims, and ideals.”

The subjects offered in the curriculum of the different schools to-day cover all aspects of this analysis under different names: sociology, social history, economic and industrial history, social economics, social philosophy, political philosophy and social ethics, social administration, principles and practice of social work, central and local government. Two other subjects anticipated elsewhere in the text of the report—psychology and biology—have found wider acceptance in recent years.

A Committee of the British Association, in a report on Scientific Research on Human Institutions, alluding to the increasing demand for trained social workers and probable expansion after the war, urges the inclusion in their training of lectures on sociology, social biology, and social psychology. “Many types of social service, particularly those involving personal contacts, require a knowledge of the normal human beings’ behaviour and of the building of his character and personality. Discussions of fundamental factors in behaviour—beside inherited characteristics, e.g. childhood experience and family relationship—are at present lacking in most British universities. Their initiation would serve to link the practical personal contact training of students with the more academic teaching given in economics, psychology, and social administration.” Some form of social and industrial psychology is now to be found on every syllabus and recently a good deal of interesting discussion has been carried on and experiments have been made as to the nature of the instruction offered.

But is there not a tendency to over-emphasize the importance of psychology and the study of human behaviour, important as they are without a counter-

balancing discipline of social philosophy. The social worker, immersed in practical affairs and human problems of all kinds, feels the need of a guiding star to which to hitch her wagon, more so to-day than ever before when human life is at a discount and human values in the melting pot. "What is the chief end of man?" asks the Shorter Catechism. What is the object or goal of human endeavour and how can it be reached? The British Association Committee in their valuable series of reports have something to say on this. They urge that the studies of the social sciences should be accompanied by the study of social philosophy which they describe as follows: "The ethical elements in social relations, e.g. the basis of political authority, the criteria of just law, the legitimacy and limits of the political use of force, the problem of conflicts, loyalties, the moral basis of the family, of property, and other social institutions." This report urges that both social science and social philosophy, though different disciplines, are necessary for an effective handling of social problems. "If students are given no training in ethical analysis, they either rely on unreflective ethics of their own or else they hover between scepticism and dogmatism."¹

Both the quality and content of the instruction offered in social study departments have been criticized. In the British Association Report quoted above, it is implied that the diploma courses of social study departments are of a lower standard than degree courses. There is some truth in this but not the whole truth. It is more correct to say a "different" instead of a "lower" standard, as I hope the rest of this chapter may be able to prove. The report ignores the fact that the percentage of graduates in social study schools was increasing before the war; the emphasis of their post-graduate training is on applied social study—the application of social study to human institutions and individual

¹ *Report on Scientific Research on Human Institutions*, 1943, British Association, p. 348. See also p. 42 *supra*.

lives; hence the essential part played by practical experience as an integral part of a complete training.

The report, however, wisely proceeds to urge that if, as is presumed, there is a strong case for social studies in all universities, and for their expansion "it is urgently necessary to think out afresh what such departments should be concerned with and how the various sciences involved should be related to one another". For the most part they were an off-shoot of the department of economics and in some places they have not yet emerged from this hospitable wing. But the modern social study department cannot shelter in any one university school. It must co-relate the various approaches to the study of human institutions—historical, economic, philosophical, and humanistic, with actual experience and research into the working of these institutions.

The claims of the physical sciences have been much slower to receive recognition, but the trend of modern problems concerned with the falling birth-rate, physical fitness, social and moral hygiene, nutrition and a world food shortage, rehabilitation and a new realization of the relation between mind and body have greatly strengthened the case for their inclusion.

I am not competent to undertake the examination of the different disciplines which constitute social study, but I am wholly of the opinion that this is a task which should be undertaken without delay in view of post war needs and developments. I would also add that in such an examination it is essential that the men and women responsible for administration should be invited to join the universities.

As a former teacher of the methods and practice of social work and in recent years a close observer of administration, there are certain suggestions, however, which I am emboldened to make which are not wholly irrelevant to the consideration of principles underlying academic study.

Most universities suffer gravely from lack of funds;

startling figures have recently revealed the difference between university incomes in the United States and in our own country, and there can be no doubt that many social study schools in common with other branches of university teaching are suffering from the want of an adequate staff for teaching and research.¹ In post-war Britain this must be remedied. With better equipment, combined with a new and stronger sense of the value of social studies, many of the administrative problems which I shall now discuss should disappear.

The first of these relates to the somewhat ambiguous position of students in social science departments, and secondly the attempt to provide a training requiring theory and practice in at least equal parts.

With our traditional dislike of regimentation we have hitherto slid over a curious inconsistency in organization—the opening of the doors of university social study departments to such a heterogeneous company of aspirants as honours or pass graduates from different faculties, matriculated students, mature social workers with no academic background, and young persons without degree, matriculation, or experience. It is indeed not easy to provide teaching suitable to such a hotch-potch of students, and this lack of precision seems deliberately asking for trouble. Our American opposite numbers are frankly shocked. In their schools a distinction is made between foundation and “technical” subjects and it is taken for granted that such foundation studies as have been sketched above will be covered during the degree course leaving the post graduate period of study free for professional instruction.

We can only reply to our critics, that while we must admit our national lack of logic, our haphazard British method has not worked too badly. I don't think it would work in other

¹ *The Development of British Universities*, by Sir Ernest Simon. Longmans, Green and Co., 1944.

branches of study, but social studies extend their tentacles in many different directions and students in social study departments with quite different backgrounds of education and experience mix surprisingly well. The better equipped schools are able to offer a wide variety of options which serve the needs of entrants of widely differing types.

Let us consider the graduate first. The numbers of graduate students before the war have steadily increased and so far at the better equipped schools they have not fared too badly. Those with an appropriate degree can as a rule qualify for the social study diploma or certificate in a single session and as the following extract from one of the council's reports shows they can select from a wide variety of subjects which give an opportunity of applied study and research.

"Social study courses are necessarily elastic in their arrangements, and details differ in each University; but in general it may be said that graduates who in their degree courses have covered the fundamental subjects and acquired a suitable equipment of theory will find that they are not required to go over the same ground again and have considerable freedom in determining the detail of the course to be followed. The main object will be to secure for them first-hand practical knowledge and experience, together with opportunities for independent work and thought on some special problem of their own choice. They will be required to acquaint themselves generally with the working of local government, trade unions, social insurance, and typical examples of the network of voluntary agencies which supplements the work of the public authorities. They will be given opportunities of studying the conditions of labour, the problem of unemployment and the unemployed, of housing and town-planning. Students with special interests will be able to develop certain subjects like industrial psychology, statistical method, or industrial legislation, which are not

often included in degree courses and are best studied in close contact with the practical issues."

To the obvious and much discussed question, "But what is an appropriate degree?" I shall not attempt to offer a reply. Ordinarily a degree covering so-called social science subjects is intended, but I have heard the head of a college, whose opinion commands respect, declare a preference for a candidate holding a first class in classics or mathematics to a mediocre graduate in accepted social science subjects. If we hope to attract the best brains entering the public or other services from the universities for a year's specialized study, it is clearly impossible to turn down all those who have not followed a prescribed course of economics and history. This problem of a shortened diploma course for the graduate was under consideration when the war broke out and it is one to which the universities should turn their attention without delay in readiness for demobilization, when we hope that graduates who have gone straight to the Forces or to the Civil Service or other forms of administration will return enriched by their war experience for a period of professional training.

We cannot, however, pass from the question of the kind of degree without some reference to the experiments of recent years in degrees in social science or sociology. Such degrees cover economics, economic and constitutional history, jurisprudence, philosophy, psychology, methods of statistics, and a modern language. In some universities, students are expected to undertake some practical work in the vacation.

There has been a tendency in recent years to accept such graduates for professional training in some recognized branch of administration without the post graduate year in a social study department above described.

There is a case for this course. It shortens the period of training and for a profession which does not offer either high

salaries or rapid promotion, this is an undoubted advantage. It secures for the social services young men and women, who, attracted by some definite aim in post graduate training, might otherwise be lost if required to give another year to university education.

But there are arguments on the other side. There is the danger of over specialization at an early age if the degree course is to have a professional value. The older courses such as the Economics Tripos of Cambridge University, Final Honours School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics of Oxford, and the B.Sc. of the London School of Economics make no attempt at professional equipment. They are not concerned with "ends" but with the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

In my opinion there is much to be said for the post graduate year in preparation for a diploma of social study on the analogy of the diploma for education when the student can concentrate on applied study accompanied by well selected practical experience and facilities for investigation and research under trained guidance. For men and women with well stored minds this period of concentration on human problems in their different aspects with time to browse and think, to turn from books and lectures to the workshop of life and back again from the workshop of life to books and discussion offers a golden opportunity which life will never repeat and which no other form of specialized instruction can provide.

For some branches of social work, as we shall see in a later chapter, this diploma year must be followed by a specialized course of training for some particular branch of social administration. The alternative is for the graduate to go direct from the university to the training course of some particular branch of social administration.

We turn now to the second category of students—the mature and experienced worker eager to improve her

position (it is still most often a woman) genuinely possessed of a strong intellectual urge to understand the problems she has already encountered. Even if, as in her case, prolonged practical work is unnecessary, is it possible for her in a two-year course (and university terms are short) to cover adequately the subjects required, especially if schools are obliged for reasons of economy to utilize existing lectures of the various degree courses.

Here again, the most that can be said is that the present method does not work out badly. The universities have had a good deal of experience in dealing with this type of candidate and can point to some remarkably successful results. If intellectually alive, such a student can frequently hold her own with astonishing success beside the university product. I imagine that in the United States this type is rarer because university education is commoner. In this country the number of university students is still surprisingly small. The latest figures give a total for Great Britain of only 39,229 who are reading for a first degree.¹ On the other hand there are probably larger numbers of men and women in this country whose education received at public and secondary schools up to the age of 18 or 19 supplemented by study aboard or specialized training is not inferior to pass standards in some, at least, of the American universities. In all probability those who fall into this category will diminish as time goes on but a social study school would at present be reluctant to exclude them altogether.

The third group consisting of young candidates without even matriculation or suitable practical experience is much less easy to justify; and before the war such entrants were fortunately decreasing in number. The usual lower age limit was 19 and younger candidates were urged to qualify for a degree or required to spread the course over three years.

¹ University Grants Commission Statistics, 1938-1939.

The difficulties of the admission of such young students are obvious. They have not the intellectual background for the subjects taught and this results either in lowering the standard of teaching or sending out candidates with an ill-digested smattering of the subjects taught. Their admission lowers professional standards and gives schools of social study the reputation they already have in some quarters of being a "dud" training—a soft option to a degree course which attracts those who have not the industry or brains for a severer intellectual discipline. The simple course would be to eliminate them altogether.

But there is a case on the other side, which must be faced squarely. There are careers in social work which demand training but which do not offer salaries or prospects compatible with prolonged study, such as certain branches of statutory social services and certain religious organizations, especially those employing very large numbers. Are candidates for such careers to seek their equipment elsewhere? As we saw in the last chapter some universities offer diploma or certificate courses for diplomas in agriculture, dairying, horticulture, landscape gardening, architecture, mining, fine art, domestic subjects, nursing, dyeing, colour chemistry, jewellery enamelling, writing, and illuminating. Must the man or woman who is concerned with human lives and problems alone be excluded?

As social study schools become stronger, this question will answer itself. As in the case of the above-mentioned professions special teaching will be provided suited to the mental capacity and the future requirements of their students. They will not be segregated as an inferior caste but will mix freely with their fellow students in a more advanced category, sometimes attending the same lectures and joining together freely in discussions. As the different branches of social work crystallize into professions with their own definite standards and requirements, the student will

pass from one category to another; in most of the other occupations also mentioned in the above list two years' practical experience is expected before admission. Such a proviso could immediately lift the candidate out of this class and as we shall see in a later chapter may show the way towards a solution of the training of candidates from certain branches of the public services.

Teachers of Social Study.—The second difficulty in training for social work concerns the relation between those responsible for the instruction received and those responsible for the different branches of administration. In the universities the social study movement has been fortunate in the quality of its teachers. Such leaders as Professor Hobhouse, Professor Seth, Professor Muirhead, Professor Stocks, Sir William Ashley, Sir Edward Gonner, Mr. St. G. Heath are no longer with us but have left their permanent contribution to the movement. Professor Urwick now in America and Professor Tillyard are happily still available for advice and counsel. All these men have successors to-day who combine scholarship with an increasingly active part in public affairs as we have already seen in an earlier chapter.

On the other side the new generation of social workers in the statutory as well as the voluntary services as evidenced at recent conferences show signs of independent judgment and broad outlook. There are perhaps fewer outstanding giants to compare with Sir Charles Loch, Octavia Hill, Helen Bosanquet, Margaret Sewell of the past, but the average level is higher. Most of the present generation have themselves undergone formal training, sometimes followed up with valuable experience in the United States. They know what has helped them; they know what they have missed. Together the teacher and the social worker (happily the roles are sometimes united or reversed) should tackle the sort of instruction required in each subject not only

psychology but economics, biology, law, not least philosophy, ethics, and religion.

Individual Tuition.—It is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of individual discussion. It is not sufficient that this should be provided only by those experienced in practical work. Personal contacts with trained minds on academic subjects are of special value to those who have not had an opportunity of previous study of social principles and ideals. They stimulate an objective attitude of mind towards life and its problems and train the student to interpret his experiences in precise terms and to think and examine their implications.

Selection of Candidates.—Up to the present time, as we have seen, the method of entrance to social study departments is rather indeterminate so far as an educational background is concerned. Most, if not all departments, make a point of at least one personal interview before selection. In some places beginnings have already been made in the direction of psychological tests of vocational aptitude. But it is not easy to formulate tests which apply to the different branches of social work. One of the most effective social workers I have ever known would not have survived any examination or interview, still less any psychological test of fitness. In the choice of candidates, the universities are strengthened by co-operation with employing organizations which have their own accepted standards of entrance. But as we have seen social service offers many very different careers and the candidate should not be obliged to make up her mind prematurely. Other things being satisfactory, such as preliminary education, record of experience, trustworthy references, character and personality so far as these can be assessed, the first year of general study for a social science diploma, including as it does practical experience as well as academic studies, is an admirable probationary period. It can be regarded as such if the candidate is told that at the

end of a given time she will be advised to leave if unsuitable for further professional training.

But as in other professions, if an ample supply of the right type of recruits is to be secured, there must be some guarantee of reasonable conditions and prospect of promotion. This has a worldly ring to the ears of those who hold that the true social worker should rise above such considerations. But in social work, as in everything else, the labourer is worthy of his hire. I shall return to this in considering the future in my last chapter.

CHAPTER 5

PRACTICAL WORK

The foundations of the movement for training for social administration were based on three principles which have stood the test of time—first, planned practical experience closely related to lectures and reading; second, opportunities for the observation of healthy independent working class movements; and third, specialization to follow, not to replace, a background of general study and experience.

The practical work of the student (or field work as it is called in America) is often compared to the experimental work of the laboratory in the case of a student of physics or chemistry or to the outdoor department or operating theatre of the hospital in the equipment of a medical student. Such comparisons have their uses, but the study of society is so utterly different from the study of the physical sciences that they do not carry us very far. The problems of modern social life are not neatly set out for purposes of scientific examination. They may be thrust upon the observant sensitive student at every turn in his ordinary life. The effect of such crowded fleeting impressions coupled with conflicting solutions on the mind of the student, is to reduce it to something resembling a jig-saw puzzle. A well planned scheme of what for convenience has to be called practical training should enable the social student to fit into something approaching a coherent whole these innumerable scraps of facts, ideas, which chase each other through his mind.

The intellectual approach to practical work must here be emphasized. There is a tendency on the part of the university teacher to regard practical work merely as a concession to technical needs, grudgingly yielded in order

to give efficiency in office management and other matters of administration. On the other hand there is an equally unsound tendency on the part of the practical worker to believe that training consists mainly in actual experience in different branches of work, supplemented by a modicum of explanatory closely applied theory. The two essential elements of sound training must be welded together in a complete and well proportioned scheme.

The difficulty of securing the right balance between the academic and the practical has never been minimized. An early report of the joint University Council deprecates "the violent and rapid changes from the university atmosphere to that of the outside world". It points out that the student of natural science finds the same mental atmosphere in the laboratory as in the lecture room. In the laboratory he discusses with the lecturer the problems raised in the lecture, whereas the social student is abruptly projected into the workaday world and is thus apt to lose a part of the benefit of what is an essential advantage of a university course—the opportunity of continuous mental training and mental development. Further, practical work which entails personal relationships makes a heavy claim on the physical resources as well as the nervous energy and sympathies. The student endowed with heart and imagination pays the inevitable price for such qualities. How is it possible to reconcile two apparent irreconcilables—the contemplative life of the serious student and the active life of a practical worker?

Well-designed schemes of practical work must therefore be closely related to the academic instruction of the student. The student in his practical work sees things as they are, not as they are supposed to be. He discovers for himself the unexpected repercussions of some new piece of social legislation. The personal touch brings his book work to life. The solutions of the classroom are tested in the

laboratory of actual conditions and the student turns with renewed zest from the troubles of John Citizen and his family to the interpretations of history, philosophy, and economic science. Most teachers must have noticed that it is the student with the best trained mind who is most eager to get to grips with real problems. He has a sound instinct that leads him to wish to see things for himself.

It is generally accepted that the usual academic terms from twenty-four to thirty weeks in the year are too short for adequate practical training if the time has to be shared with study. A considerable amount of continuous work must therefore be undertaken before the course begins or during vacations. This results in the overcrowding of the offices of social organizations offering training at certain periods of the year, particularly the summer vacation when work tends to slacken; schools of social study have been urged to make some attempt to "stagger" the arrangements for practical work more evenly throughout the year. This is a real difficulty and is under consideration at the present time. An interesting experiment in the emergency courses at the universities arranged for the Ministry of Labour sandwiched a month of practical experience between two months of study. Much of course depends on the background and future plans of the student. The Honours Graduate in Social Science subjects can select some fresh subjects for further study such as statistics or social or industrial psychology and devote more time to field work or research. The senior student fortified by useful experience can afford more time to academic study. Students who propose to follow the diploma course with further professional training can give more time to study than those who intend to take up some branch of work without further specialization.

Arrangements vary in different schools and it is not surprising that employing organizations are seldom content

with the amount of time allotted on the practical side. But one principle is widely accepted by those who have given most thought to training on both sides—academic work and practical experience should be closely allied.

Another difficulty lies in the selection of the best forms of practical work. The university is willing to accept responsibility for students of such faculties as medicine, education, science, or engineering because fully recognized facilities for practical work can be readily provided. But how can it pick and choose from numerous social institutions of which it has no official knowledge? Here we find one of the strongest arguments for the university settlement which may indeed be regarded as a practising school accepted by the university. But the responsibility for practical training cannot be handed over wholly to the settlement. Even the most comprehensive settlement cannot be expected to cover all types of social activities and its method of approach is somewhat exceptional. Its pressing needs must in times of emergency claim priority over the needs of the student to the detriment of university work.¹ Perhaps more important, I think most settlement residents will agree that the atmosphere tends to become too rarefied. The student undoubtedly has the advantage of association with men and women engaged in many forms of public and social work, but for the most part he lives and works with those who have the same aims and standards, even the same modes of expression, and is ill prepared for a cold plunge into an entirely different element.

The accepted solution to this problem is the appointment of tutors in methods and practice of social work.² The exact title does not matter—director, tutor, or whatever is preferred. But the holder of the office to meet modern needs

¹ I think the danger of the student being called on to fill in gaps has largely disappeared to-day with better equipment and better facilities for students.

² As early as 1911 I had the privilege of being the first holder of a University appointment of this kind in the University of Liverpool.

must possess the right qualifications. The best person should be appointed, man or woman, though as men students increase larger schools will appoint both. This tutor in addition to academic qualifications must have had some participation in different forms of social administration, and should continue to be in close touch with the public and social work of the city. Sound judgment and skill in handling people are essential. It is not easy to refuse to send students to this or that organization because its work is not up to standard. But the interests of the student are paramount, and the school which utilizes influential agencies of inferior quality is as reprehensible as a college which appoints an unqualified lecturer under pressure from a wealthy donor.

In large schools the "tutor" plan has, as we shall see in the next chapter, been extended by adding as part-time members of the staff persons who are admittedly authorities on different branches of work. The provision of such tutors would go a long way to meet the criticisms of the practical organization and to prevent the multiplication of *ad hoc* specialized courses. An interesting example of this is to be found in the mental health course of the London School of Economics, where the field work is carried on under the supervision of a university tutor in psychiatric social work who accompanies her students to the different centres of training. This is, I think, the only instance so far of training for a specialized form of social work which is given entirely under the aegis of the university. A valuable suggestion has recently been made that tutors on different branches of practical work should occasionally alternate between the field and the university. Such a turnover presents great possibilities. The social worker with suitable qualifications would gain much intellectually by leave of absence for six months or so as a temporary member of the staff of the School of Social Study, and conversely the university teacher

who is a trained worker would, like the giant Antaeus, derive renewed strength from return to mother earth.

In the next chapter I shall attempt to deal with the different branches of work and the respective relations between the university and the practical organization with regard to training. But it may be useful here in considering the principles underlying practical work to discuss the fitness of these organizations for the responsibilities of training. I have said that there were criticisms of the training offered by the universities. Conversely I have heard criticisms of the quality of the training in practical work offered by social organizations.

It is sometimes asked if adequate opportunities for practical experience are available at present and still more if after the war there should be an extended demand. Some schools are compelled to limit their numbers because of the lack of sufficient and suitable practical experience. Experience in case work organization has been rightly urged for Assistance Board investigators and home visitors. But if this suggestion had been taken literally and they had come in their thousands would there have been "case work" experience or even room to accommodate them in most offices? Again, are those workers to whom students are sent sufficiently experienced themselves as teachers and, not less important, have they time to spare for students? Speakers on this subject sometimes give the impression that trainees are just out of the nursery. Here, as always, the different background must be borne in mind. The intelligent alert student can absorb what is needed without help. He wants new experience and knowledge and can for himself assess and criticize with discrimination what he sees, though of course it will be an advantage if he is placed with someone capable of answering his questions and meeting his criticisms with equal intelligence.

Younger, less well educated or experienced students

must have better guidance. Every student should be encouraged to discuss his impressions favourable and unfavourable with equal frankness, not only with those in charge of the practical work, but with their university tutor. Criticism should not be repressed; it should be developed and trained. Some case work organizations have been attempting to put their house in order by the appointment on their staff of trained workers to act as tutor to students. Other organizations such as the Association of Girls' Clubs insist on a high standard in club or youth organizations to which students are sent.¹ Practical work is not, however, intended to introduce students to perfection. It is an opportunity of securing a "close up" of life and its problems and the methods adopted to deal with them. The student sees what is being done and learns to recognize good work from bad work. He learns the relative importance of physical and spiritual atmosphere. The commonplace student will be quite comfortable in a well appointed tidy office. The born social worker realizes that an atmosphere of welcome, hope, encouragement, and comradeship is much more important than a comfortable waiting room and a well-kept card index (though I am the last person to underrate the great value of these accessories to sound work).

The first essential, therefore, of well planned practical training of students brought up in a different environment is opportunities of access to normal working class life. It must be remembered, however, that students are fortunately not all drawn from the same rank of life. The increasing number who belong themselves to the wage-earning class should not be exempt from practical training though their approach must be different. It has indeed been suggested that all future social workers should earn their living for a

¹ In U.S.A. and I believe in this country also a beginning has been made in the provision of special courses for "supervisors" or tutors of practical work.

year before they begin their social science course. This would mean entering some industrial or other occupation which did not require previous training or it might in the future, as has already been suggested as a post-war as well as war expedient, be met by a year of national service of some kind. There was a good deal of sound sense in the advice given recently by an experienced administrator to a well-educated girl who wished to become a probation officer "go for a year into a factory first". There are men and women in the Services now acquiring experience which will be of the utmost value to their future careers.

There are practical difficulties in the way of such a proposal and compulsory national service in peace time is still a controversial subject. But there can be no doubt that the simple natural contact with fellow workers on equal terms which such an experience would afford would do much to break down barriers and to obliterate that objectionable social worker touch of unconscious condescension which is so difficult to avoid.

The introduction to the problems of working class life begins naturally with what is called "case work". I suppose most of us have in our youth passed through a healthy phase of resentment against this cold impersonal term borrowed from medicine. It is natural to dislike to regard those with whom we come in contact as "cases" rather than personalities of the same flesh and blood and with the same hopes and desires, failures, and disappointments as ourselves. But like it or not a technique has grown up of sufficient importance to demand some distinguishing title. The theory of the technique of case-work must be left to others better qualified to state it.

The Charity Organization Society, which took a leading share in the origin of the movement for the training of social workers, to-day still stands for "case work" in the best sense of the term. "For seventy years it has been the credo

of the Society that character is nine-tenths of life, that independence is one of the most valuable of man's possessions, the fostering of which is true charity, and that the individual must be considered as an individual . . . Human nature does not change, and no one has yet attempted to devise a social order in which sorrow, illness, anxiety, and the results of weakness and sin will be unknown. While the world lasts, these fundamental problems will need solution, and it is our firm belief that they can be solved, not by regulation, or schedule, or scale, but only by the faithful, patient, disciplined study of each individual difficulty".¹

Whatever views may be held about its past social philosophy the unbiased person must admit that the C.O.S. represents and always has represented thorough and scientific work and that its offices provide an admirable and indispensable training ground. The student is brought into touch with all sorts and conditions of men. It is true that he may start off from the broken-down applicant sometimes the victim of his own weakness, sometimes the victim of the social and economic system, of which he forms a part. But in the attempt to help him the student is brought into contact with innumerable types of persons who touch his life at different points—the landlord, the doctor, the teacher, the poor man's lawyer, the Assistance Board officer, the pawnbroker, the moneylender, or the more fortunate relative.

Work for the Charity Organization or Personal Service Society gains from the fact that it does not exist to handle a particular problem of distress. The student sees actual instances of the effect of long term unemployment, overcrowding, or sickness on home life and how these "giant evils" act and interact on each other. He puzzles, on the one hand, over what a labourer's wife has called "the conundrum of how we live"; on the other hand he has glimpses

¹ Annual Report, Charity Organization Society.

of success as well as failure. He visits the well-kept and happy home, the up-to-date school, the amenities for social welfare of a modern municipality. He may too often see the gaps and flaws in the machinery of social services, but he does see them at work.

The part that voluntary case work organizations will play in the future under the proposed Beveridge Social Security Plan is at present under discussion. I hope they will continue at least as specialists dealing with problems which call for careful individual treatment. The Public Assistance, or as it now prefers to be called Social Welfare Committee, and still more the Assistance Board, deal with many thousands of cases while the voluntary office handles hundreds. The technique, therefore, cannot fail to be different. Some students have already had the privilege of both and I hope such opportunities of experience will multiply as the new scheme materializes. The careful intensive individual worker of the voluntary organization engaged in all round rehabilitation of difficult cases of distress is an invaluable training for the personal work on a far larger scale of the security service of the future.

On the other hand the student who has had the "close up" experience of a voluntary office should have some opportunity of the large-scale treatment of a statutory department where fleeting personal impressions must be supplemented by rigidly accurate records, though when working in close touch with officials handling very large numbers I have been greatly impressed by the remarkable memory for faces and life stories which they appear to develop,

I should like here to bear testimony to methods of so-called "case work" in a quite different field which have recently come to my notice—the Red Cross Department dealing with prisoners and internees of war. No doubt this department has the advantages of war prestige, dignified

surroundings, ample space for comfort and privacy, and an adequate staff, but what has impressed me when, unknown to the interviewer, I have accompanied an inquirer was the sincere personal interest and warm sympathy, with complete freedom from any hint of class distinction or the social worker manner.

The foundations laid by case work must be followed by other varieties of experience. A report prepared by the Joint University Council for Social Studies on the different organizations used for the practical work of students shows an immense range of activities. But there are conspicuous gaps. A well balanced scheme of practical experience should necessarily include opportunities of taking part in such independent self-governing forms of social benefits as Friendly Societies, Trades Unions, Workers' Educational Associations, and the like. Possibilities of these are unfortunately not easy to secure.

The modern settlement of the right kind can supply this natural approach to neighbourhood activities and those who live in small towns or villages particularly in the north or in Wales find it readily through churches, chapels, sports clubs, and other local contacts. The student who comes from the ranks of labour, who has gone to the village school or, as was earlier suggested in this chapter, earned his own living, obviously needs this less than the student from a typical middle class home. But experience of this kind, however obtained, is an essential element in the equipment of the future social worker and goes far to produce an understanding of human nature and a sense of brotherhood and equality which should be present in anyone who wishes to serve his fellow creatures. It is nonsense to say that the study of social psychology, useful as it may be when taught by an experienced psychologist who knows human nature and problems of behaviour from personal experience, can provide this human touch. It is partly inborn and when it is

you have the natural social worker, but it can be inculcated given the right contacts.

Rural Social Work.—Far too little has been done in the provision of training for rural social work. The Oxford School at Barnet House offers special facilities for this from an administrative, social, and agricultural point of view. America has gone ahead of us in this as in other directions and experimental training courses have been carried on jointly by Schools of Social Study, State Colleges of Agriculture, and other university departments concerned with rural economics. Trained social workers are needed at the moment for the Land Army and in more normal times for Community Centres, Women's Institutes, as well as the usual branches of social work which must be made to cover a wide area where the population is thinly scattered. Specialized courses for rural work should either form part of the curriculum of every school or should be concentrated in suitable centres to which candidates may be sent as part of their training.

Visits of Observation.—Visits of observation to all kinds of social institutions should not be confused with so called practical work. These are a very valuable accessory to such work but they cannot replace it. There is literally no limit to the possible number of such visits except that of time. They should, however, be regarded as an important part of every systematic course of study and carefully planned in such a way as to serve as illustrations of lectures on administrative subjects such as Central and Local Government and social institutions. The selection of such visits should be made by the director of studies in consultation jointly with the lecturers and those responsible for practical work. They should include in addition to established institutions for social rehabilitation : schools, adult classes, housing areas, community centres, factories, coal mines, meetings of Town Councils, Trade Union Congress, Women's Co-operative

Guild, Friendly Societies. The visit is in itself a part of training in research as well as an extension of knowledge. The novice "sees only what the guide wants him to see; asks the most superficial questions like being driven in a char-a-banc through the Lake district".¹ The intelligent student sizes up the strong and weak points and can report with discrimination on what is seen or heard.

Students should keep full notes of all such visits whether organized or incidental in the course of his practical work. Such notes should form the basis of discussion not only with the expert in charge of the visit but with the academic tutor and if kept up conscientiously in after life, will be of inestimable value.

Research.—Several universities in recent years have been distinguished for important sociological research in different directions. As was to be expected such work was undertaken by trained personnel though in some cases students in the Social Service Department took part under direction. In Glasgow some years before the war squads of social study students and ex-students were rounded up and distributed in a week-end Clydeside housing survey with results beneficial both to the speed of the inquiry and the education of the student.

But research is not a method of practical work. It requires special scientific training, though so far as sociological inquiries are concerned the trained researcher may well call in the aid of the experienced social worker who understands the outlook, the habits, and the terminology of the object of inquiry. As one observer has remarked, the methods of the sociological investigator with his paid visitors armed with note book and pencil have hitherto resembled those of the old-fashioned ornithologist, who first shot his specimens and pinned them to a book for purposes of study. His

¹ Quoted from a useful pamphlet by the late Hilda Cashmore on methods of practical work, o.p.

successor to-day hides himself for months together in the woods and takes living and moving pictures of his subjects in their natural motions and environment.

In almost every form of social activity there are priceless opportunities of accumulation of social data. With a background of liberal social training and some instruction in statistical method, the official in a social agency, a trade union, or a factory, might well become the observer and recorder of significant facts which now pass before him unnoticed in the course of his daily routine. Thus the sociological researcher must have social training and conversely the social worker must have training in methods of research.

Supplementary or Technical Training.—This short book covers mainly the joint courses offered by the universities and social organizations, but the experience of a lifetime shows that there are by-ways which lie outside this joint approach which may be missed to the students' disadvantage. Some of these indeed should find a place in the equipment of any young man or woman preparing for a useful life in any direction. Examples of what I mean include : type-writing, shorthand, office management, committee routine, public speaking, elementary accountancy, first aid, and elementary hygiene—even driving a car which for country posts is essential.

The present generation seem to find for themselves ways and means of acquiring these and other useful qualifications sometimes through the non-academic activities of their college or school career, sometimes by special courses of study in the vacation. The young man or girl of to-day is usually able to type her letters and can write and speak more fluently than many of their seniors. It is certainly not to be expected that schools of social study should provide such instruction and social organizations have neither the time nor the ability to do so but university terms are short and

directors of study should see that somehow or other such opportunities are obtainable. The best scheme of academic and administrative training will break down if trainees do not have some grounding in such elementary aids to work.

CHAPTER 6

I

TRAINING FOR DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL SERVICES

The confusing medley of occupations, professional or quasi-professional, sheltering under the term "social work" has already been described. Social work is a heterogeneous group rather than an entity in itself and the sooner this is understood the better. For this reason more than in the case of any other career it is difficult to establish a fixed standard of training. But it is a group in which the constituent members from the highest to the lowest ranks find a common denominator of social purpose—which should enable them to pass from one branch to another with advantage both to themselves and to the community. Thus much the same general discipline of social principle and practice is essential for all before the lines of training diverge in different directions.

In the early days of the movement the different forms of social work briefly discussed in this chapter were almost entirely under the control of voluntary organizations. To-day we find that the sharp boundary line between voluntary and statutory effort has been obliterated. The trained almoner or house property manager may serve either in a voluntary or municipal hospital or housing estate. If the latter she becomes an official in the local government service.

As the different branches have crystallized into professional status with their own recognized qualifications, they have solved at least part of the problem that has troubled us for so long, training for entrance into the public social services. These professional qualifications are accepted by the employing authority which they serve in a professional or specialist capacity.

At the present time there is a new and significant trend in the direction of classification of these branches into kindred groups according to their respective functions. Examples of this tendency are found notably in social medicine, social education, and industrial personnel management and welfare. Such groups to some extent overlap but they have a sufficiently definite character of their own to justify their own brand of training. They may cover occupations which are not wholly social in their implications and for which other professional training must be provided.

We shall see that most of these groupings as well as separate branches of social work are much more highly organized than when my first book on the subject was published. Those who represent them are now in a strong position to speak for themselves and at the present time are giving much attention to post war plans. I shall, therefore, confine myself in this chapter to a few general notes on those which have more or less formally collaborated with the universities.

Social Medicine.—Perhaps the most complete example of the grouping of kindred branches of human welfare is to be found in the newly discovered field of social medicine. The professor of social medicine will find collaborators in other Faculties and as the new title indicates social and medical studies in this new approach will be drawn together into a helpful partnership. I am not certain who first invented the term "social medicine" to designate a rapidly widening range of human welfare¹; in this country Sir George Newman, formerly chief officer of the Ministry of Health, was a pioneer advocate of a close alliance between medical and social practice.² But it was Sir Charles Loch of the Charity

¹ *Le Medicin Social*, by René Sand, with a preface from Édouard Herriot, was, I think, the first book on the subject. Translated by C. F. Marshall, 1935, Kegan Paul, under the title "Health and Human Progress".

² Recent advances in Medical Education in England, 1923, Sir George Newman.

Organization Society who, nearly half a century ago, brought into existence the first practical experiment in trained social work as part of hospital equipment.

The movement thus initiated has gone from strength to strength. To-day the almoner system has established itself in the hospital team work of diagnosis and treatment. It stands for the principle enunciated by Sir George Newman which lies at the root of all medico-social work "that people cannot be isolated from surroundings; the study of health and disease in man must take into account the conditions in which man lives".

The Hospital Social Service.—During the last twenty years the members of this new profession have put their house in excellent order. The early Hospital Almoners' Council was incorporated in 1924 under the name Institute of Hospital Almoners. This institute is responsible for questions of training; it selects suitable candidates through local committees in different parts of the country. It regulates methods of training jointly with social study departments in the universities. It has its own tutor, conducts its own courses of specialized training, and grants its own certificate. It is recognized by the Ministry of Labour as an approved employment agency for the placing of its trainees. We have here an example of a well designed modern democratic self-governing organization in a strong position to welcome and help post war developments in medico-social work. Some of these have indeed been anticipated. Already the almoners' service has extended from its pioneer efforts in voluntary hospitals to hospitals under public control and from hospitals to clinics for the treatment of specific disorders such as mental abnormalities, tuberculosis, and venereal disease.

From the beginning the importance of training was emphasized. The report of a Committee composed of university representatives and members of the institute in

1925¹ thus confirmed early experiments. "We consider that the existing method of training is on sound lines. The best training for any form of social service consists in a wise blend of study of social facts and institutions with first hand practical experience and we find in the close co-operation already instituted between the University Departments of Social Study and the Institute of Hospital Almoners . . . the best line of advance."

This first principle of social training still holds, but the changes that are already taking place and will increasingly take place in the near future call for a new grouping of social studies adapted to the different needs of the team which will constitute the medico-social service of the future. In this team will be found many ranks, the specialist, the general practitioner, the school nurse, the district nurse, the midwife, the almoner, the psychiatric social worker, and the health visitor, with a wide range of other supplementary therapeutic services. Of these the almoner and the psychiatric social worker are the only fully qualified professional social workers with the main emphasis on "social". The others have their own medical training with in some cases supplementary study of social conditions. The training of the psychiatric social worker presents some features of interest which I shall discuss later in this chapter. The health visitor is in a somewhat different category; her work is mainly preventive. She has the unique opportunity of visiting freely in and out of the homes of the people, particularly where there are expectant mothers and young children to see that all is well and to give advice. She is, perhaps, a liaison officer rather than an actual practitioner. Nevertheless her training still remains almost wholly medical with a mere smattering of social economics and legislation. She must be a trained nurse and certified midwife with a supplementary course of

¹ *Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration, Training for Hospital Social Work*. P. S. King and Sons, 1926 (o.p.). See Appendix.

public health training or she may train for public health work for two years supplemented by six months in hospital plus the C.M.B. A Joint Consultative Committee for the training of health visitors, believing that health visiting is a form of social service with the family as its unit and that in its practice all social and economic factors must be taken into consideration, has urged that in the training of health visitors social problems should be regarded as equally important with problems of health and disease and proposals have been made to combine a course in social study with the lectures required for the health visitor's certificate examination.

The Psychiatric Social Worker.—By far the greatest advance in any branch of training since my last book was written is to be found in psychiatric social work.¹ The psychiatric social worker finds much in common with the hospital almoner, but her work is highly specialized with its own recognized training for selected candidates already in possession of a social science diploma or "its equivalent in terms of study of the social sciences and practical experience". The basic difference between this and other methods of post diploma training is that the candidate remains during the year of specialization under the guidance of her university tutor, who is an experienced practitioner as well as teacher, for the whole period of training. So far as I know this is the only instance of specialization in both theory which in this case covers psychology, psychiatry, and kindred subjects and practice in child guidance clinics or mental hospitals, which is carried on jointly under the aegis of the university.

Rehabilitation.—As the end of the war draws nearer we are faced by heavy new problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation both at home and abroad. The tasks which

¹ The London School of Economics was until recently the first and only centre for this training. The Department of Social Study and Training of the University of Edinburgh now offers a similar course of training.

lie before the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.), including relief services of all kinds, repatriation, provision of food, fuel, shelter, medical supplies, renewal of community services of all kinds, completely baffles imagination. Such manifold responsibilities call for skilled equipment and training beyond the limited range of this book. But in the selection of personnel, while recognizing that many diversities of skill and knowledge will be required for problems of such magnitude, I may express the hope that those in authority will remember that there is such a thing as trained social work and see to it that some trained social workers are included among those selected for what *The Times* has described as the greatest humanitarian project ever conceived.

But there will be need for trained work at home in the tasks of rehabilitation and resettlement. A memorandum on this subject submitted to the Ministry of Health by the British Federation of Social Workers, representing thirteen leading associations of social workers, pointed out that the training of social workers peculiarly fitted them for this reconstruction service to the individual and the community. "It is exactly this problem with which social workers are trained to deal. They are trained to see the individual as a member of a community and of the particular part of the community to which he belongs. They have a background of elementary psychology and economics, a working knowledge of social legislation and local government and considerable practical experience of individual case work."¹ The Federation proposes that a new grade of Civil Service officials be created comparable with that of factory inspector for the administration of this comprehensive service and urges the use of workers trained to deal with the personal problems which arise.

¹ Memorandum on Rehabilitation and Resettlement of the Disabled presented by the British Federation of Social Workers, 5 Victoria St., S.W. 1, 1944.

Social Education.—The school has become a social centre with a widening circle of social activities during the last thirty years, but public departments dealing with education have been more backward than others in recognizing the need for a specially trained class of worker to carry out the new duties. The recent Government White Paper on Educational Reconstruction¹ justifies this criticism. It has admirable sections on health, physical well-being, nursery schools, and the future youth service. But there is nothing to suggest that there is such a thing as a school social service which in the words of a recent memorandum of the Trades Union Council offers “continuous development from the nursery school through the primary secondary and continuation schools to the stage where young people are encouraged to make their own experiments and run their own affairs thus graduating into full citizenship”. Still less is there any suggestion that social work supplementing the teacher requires an experienced and trained type of officer. The teacher in all grades of education is of course the pivot around which social activities revolve and as such should herself have a background of social understanding which will be discussed in my next chapter. But he has his own responsible task, the most responsible that can be entrusted to any man or woman—the mental and spiritual development of the child and his equipment for life. Nevertheless the outbreak of war revealed that the London County Council was still the only authority which provided a trained staff to cope with its education social service. Elsewhere each fresh duty fell on the broad shoulders of the over-worked teacher.² *The Times*, in a sympathetic leading article during the mass dispersal of school children, described the teacher as a “willing horse saddled with many onerous new duties—

¹ Government White Paper Educational Reconstruction. 1943. H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 6458. 6d. net.

² See *The New Philanthropy*, 1943 edition with a war-time postscript. Elizabeth Macadam, p. 172.

billeting officer . . . meals caterer, second hand clothes merchant, milk distributor . . . anything but teacher . . .". The Cambridge Evacuation Survey found ample evidence that an undue burden of duties had been laid upon the teachers and recommended the appointment of full time trained social workers.

In some places school attendance officers are expected to do what is necessary and no one can doubt that their duties have widely expanded since the days when they dragged reluctant children to school. Their intimate knowledge of the home life of their children has been shown by the part allotted to them in the original London Survey of Life and Labour and its recent successor. Their experience cannot be lightly set aside, but as they drop out a more modern fully trained type of both men and women school social workers on the lines of the London Care Committee system should be appointed to succeed them.

This problem of what are now called "extraneous duties" of teachers has recently attracted a good deal of attention among teachers themselves and the National Union of Teachers has issued a pamphlet on the subject. One of the recommendations of this pamphlet puts forward the need for some form of auxiliary workers in schools to undertake, for example, clerical, child care, and social work. Objection was taken in a leading article in *The Times Educational Supplement* to the adjective "auxiliary" as suggesting an inferior grade of worker. But social workers are accustomed to filling a supplementary role, as for instance in the hospital service, and so long as their place as fully trained workers in the educational team is recognized no difficulty should arise.¹

Youth Leadership.—Once again history repeats itself. In 1939 the Government launched a new scheme for the service of youth which bears a striking likeness to that inaugurated after the last war, though characterized by new terminology.

¹ See Appendix.

Some of us ask why we failed after the last war to attain the fullness of success for which we hoped, but this is not the place for such discussion. The extent of our failure must measure the strength of our determination not to fail again.

After the last war a Government memorandum issued to local authorities described continuation schools (now called "colleges") in which continuation school teaching is described as "that most fruitful form of social service which is devoted to securing that each generation, as it takes up in its turn the glory and burden of life, shall take it up better equipped, with faculties more keenly trained both for endeavour and for enjoyment than its predecessor". The contribution of the university towards training is also discussed: "The Universities must come out into the market place . . . The teachers of the people must know how they do their work; they must know the habits of their homes and what kind of recreation they prefer in their moments of leisure." These words might have been written to-day, a quarter of a century later.

Once again the repercussions of war drew attention to the problems of adolescence and a Youth Advisory Council was appointed by the Board of Education and a circular issued in 1939 by the Board of Education recognized "youth service" as a normal education service.¹ Special committees were appointed to consider training for this service and short experimental courses were conducted by the Board, by local educational authorities and certain voluntary organizations. In 1942 the Board issued a circular which offered financial grants to approved courses. To-day we find social study and education departments at last beginning to co-operate in the provision of training, and interesting experiments have been carried on in the universities of Bristol, Durham, Liverpool, Manchester, London, Sheffield, University College, Nottingham, and

¹ Board of Education circular 1486.

others are in contemplation. Similar courses have been offered by such organizations as the Y.W.C.A. and The National Association of Girls' Clubs, which has played a leading part in securing a high standard of training in the movement. At the present time this association provides in conjunction with university social study departments the only full time professional training at present in operation. This training is described in the report recently issued by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on an experiment on the selection and training of youth leaders by Trust funds.¹ This report, which is of exceptional educational interest, reproduces opinions on the training offered by trainees themselves, some of whom have had an elementary school education in addition to those of teachers and others who supervise the training. The experience gained already seems to prove once again that candidates new to academic work but with a solid background of personal experience and knowledge of social conditions hold their own successfully with university graduates.

The training of youth leaders was included as part of the terms of reference of a committee appointed by the Board of Education in March, 1942, and its recommendations are awaited with interest.²

Juvenile Employment.—Another branch of what we have called social education is concerned with the transition between school life and entrance to industry or other form of employment; a National Association of Juvenile Employment and Welfare Officers which was formed after the last war has given a good deal of attention to experimental work on psychological tests with a view to vocational guidance.

¹ The Carnegie Bursary Scheme for the training of youth leaders—a report on the conduct of the experiment from December, 1940, to August, 1943. Carnegie United Kingdom Trust—Dunfermline, 1943.

² Teachers and Youth Leaders Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education to consider the supply, recruitment, and training of teachers and youth leaders. This Committee issued its report in May, 1944, see Appendix.

They have approached the universities and urged that this should be included in the curriculum for students desiring to train for juvenile employment work. Here we find another example of the need for closer collaboration in the future training of social workers.¹ The youth leader and the juvenile employment officer will find much in common in the university curriculum, and the personnel manager whose work may include vocational guidance among many other responsibilities may profitably share in the instruction offered.

Institutional Child Welfare.—A branch of social welfare hitherto seriously neglected from the training angle may be included as part of social education—institutional welfare with special reference to matrons or wardens of children's homes or hostels for adolescents. Residential institutions vary greatly from large scale, well equipped orphanages like Doctor Barnardo's or well regulated Home Office Approved Schools to small homes for special classes of children.² In the latter usually a trained nurse or qualified teacher is preferred; trained social workers are rarely asked for. Nevertheless in institutions with a staff including teachers and nurses it might reasonably be supposed that a social worker would make a suitable head with her knowledge of the children's home environment. Like a wise parent she could select the best nurse or teacher for her large family.

The approach towards improvement in this respect would appear to be along the line of better group organization for institutional work and a combined invitation for special consideration from university social study departments.

¹ See "The Young Worker—The Juvenile Employment Service." Ministry of Labour and National Service Juvenile Employment Service Pamphlet No. 1, H.M. Stationery Office; and Bulletin of the National Association of Juvenile Employment and Welfare Officers, May, 1944.

² The Council of Dr. Barnardo's Homes has inaugurated a Staff Training School.

But it is doubtful whether this can help until child welfare is recognized as it ought to be as one of the different branches for specialization at the school of social studies. There is, I believe, urgent need for this development in collaboration of course with Departments of Education and linked with training for youth leadership, juvenile employment, and delinquency problems.¹

Training for Community Centres, Settlements, and Neighbourhood Workers.—Perhaps the most recent suggestion for specialized training comes from the British Association of Residential Settlements—training for community work of all kinds. They believe that with the end of the war great opportunities for the expansion of “neighbourhood work” are likely to arise. “It is essential that men and women with the right personalities, backed by the necessary training and experience, should be available, not only to fill the posts which will become vacant, but new posts which may be expected to be created, such as community centres set up by Local Authorities.” This is a development which will be watched with interest. Such work is closely allied to family case work, youth leadership, and possibly House Property Management, but it has its own technique and guiding principles which claim specialized equipment.

¹ In July, 1944, an interesting correspondence was carried on in *The Times* on the subject of “homeless children”. A leading article on 31st July urged a Government inquiry. See Appendix.

CHAPTER 6 (*continued*)

2

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL WELFARE

Welfare work in factories introduced on a small scale before the last war by more advanced employers has during the last quarter of a century broadened into labour, or personnel management with its own high professional standards. It now covers in addition to general well-being and social amenities, selection and transfer of employers, psychological observation and vocational guidance, safety measures, billeting, education, physical and medical care. Personnel management has become part of the scientific organization of a modern factory or indeed of any industrial or business concern employing large numbers of men and women.

The Welfare Workers' Institute founded in 1913 was incorporated in 1924 as the Institute of Labour Management with its own employment bureau, information service, monthly journal and library, and training committee. Much co-operative thinking has gone to the building up of a partnership in training between the Institute and the universities from 1917 onwards. The preamble to the recommendations of a report on training issued in 1921¹ "that training should be provided by the universities in view of the fact that it is to the university that Government Departments, Municipal Authorities, progressive employers, and others will look for the provision of the intellectual training necessary to equip men and women for posts requiring a wide outlook and some understanding of social

¹ *University Training for Welfare Work in Industry and Commerce*, 1921, o.p. Revised as *University Training for Labour Management and Industrial Welfare*, 1932 (o.p.), 1939. Joint University Council for Social Study and Public Administration, 5, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

theory" forms the basis of a training charter which has been faithfully put into practice during the last twenty years.

The conditions of training recognized by the Institute differ from those imposed by other organizations. It has not hitherto granted its own certificate but accepts the diploma or certificate of the university. The subjects of instruction are those ordinarily found in the social studies course with, of course, emphasis on industrial history, legislation, industrial relations and industrial psychology, and vocational guidance. The practical side of the curriculum includes the usual methods of gaining personal experience of social administration and is supplemented by factory experience arranged by the Institute.

In the larger schools two important recommendations of the above mentioned "charter" have been put into practice. The first relates to the appointment on the university staff of full time or part time tutors with first hand knowledge of modern industry, and the second the setting up in connection with each school, of advisory councils, composed of representatives of associations of employers and workers with associations concerned with labour management. In such intimate relationship between theory and practice lies the secret of success in this as in every branch of administration.

One further recommendation calls for special notice—that men and women from the ranks of factory workers should be afforded opportunities of training. The wisdom of this has been proved during the present war when experience in selection for war emergency courses shows that some of the best candidates had themselves been factory operatives.

Other sections of the industrial group include a type of worker called during the present war "outside" welfare officers and a rapidly increasing number of industrial psychologists. The first, though for war needs separately

recruited, would in normal circumstances fall under personnel management. The second, also part of personnel management, belongs to the numerous category of border occupations which have their own professional education. The industrial psychologist ranks like the factory doctor as a specialist, but his work is closely bound up with social conditions and problems. He must understand social as well as industrial psychology for the two join hands in personnel management. But all factories are not large enough to have psychologists attached to their staff, though they may be able to secure their services for special problems from time to time. The personnel manager must therefore have some knowledge of industrial psychology as part of his training. The place of psychological teaching as part of social services is receiving a good deal of attention at the present time and developments are hoped for after the war.

In another direction the industrial nurse and the dietician or canteen supervisor in large factories belong to a border grouping. The nurse where small numbers are employed may have to combine the duties of nurse and welfare officer, and in recent years full time training of not less than nine months in addition to her nursing training has been provided for her needs. The curriculum includes social administration with the usual industrial subjects.

The dietician or canteen supervisor in large concerns should also have the advantage of two-fold training such as is provided, for instance, at King's College for Household and Social Science. Domestic science, especially when concerned with diet and food values, must to-day join hands with social studies.

The foundations of training in industrial management have been well laid, but in the light of recent experience and the broadening of its base of operations post war revision and expansion may well be desirable. Its different branches should in modern times be linked as a coherent

group for which relevant university courses drawn from different departments should be available.

Administration of Justice: Social Work in the Courts.—Perhaps the most outstanding advance in social training during the brief peace years is to be found in connection with the probation service. As one who took part in early discussions on the subject with representatives of the Home Office, I look back with great satisfaction as on a dream come true on the progress that has been made with an earnest hope that future years will show its complete fulfilment.

The Home Office was the first Government Department (apart from the Board of Education training of teachers) to seek the help of the universities and become responsible for the cost of training. The pioneer example of this was, as we have seen, emergency courses in personnel management in factories. But this was solely a war measure; a few years later the same innovation was adopted as a normal source of recruitment by the Probation Department of the Home Office. The beginnings of the story are related in my earlier book.¹ But it was not until the Criminal Justice Act of 1925 made the appointment of probation officers compulsory that things began to happen.

New opportunities for social service in the police courts, including problems of domestic relationships on a large scale, were then created, opportunities which unlike most branches of social work required men in larger numbers than women owing to the preponderance of male over female offenders.²

In 1937 the Home Secretary approved a scheme of selection and training to operate under the control of the newly created Probation Training Board. While it was expected that the majority of new entrants would be drawn

¹ See *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, pp. 139-143.

² Since the extension of duties to matrimonial and domestic problems, the number of women required has been greatly increased.

from those who qualified for the University Social Science diploma in the ordinary way, it was decided to offer two years training in a Social Study Department to a number of carefully selected candidates. A shortened course for candidates who already possessed a background of social training or experience was at the same time offered by the Board. A point of some interest in this experiment is that no distinction of sex is made so far as training is concerned. It is taken for granted that for the same duties the same training is required for men and women.

Much valuable experience has already been gained in this unique experiment of co-operation between a Department of State and the universities. The support of the National Association of Probation Officers, now a large and influential organization and the warm sympathy of the senior officers who themselves had found their own training outside the university in the school of experience did much to make this experiment a success.

In government circles precedents count for much. Here we have a precedent for training men and women (other than future teachers or war workers) for a definite form of essential normal national service at the expense of the State. Why should it not be possible to continue and extend this experiment on wider lines so that no suitable candidate should be excluded for want of means of training?¹

Recent press publicity on procedure in juvenile courts has forced on public attention the need for social experience and training in others more highly placed in the administration of justice—the magistrates themselves, especially those in juvenile courts, clerks to the justices, and others concerned with abnormal behaviour and moral disease. Have we not, therefore, a case here for another group of studies with the university as centre which would associate

¹ See *Probation Work in England and Wales*, Home Office, 1938.

psychological legal and social studies in training for social justice.¹

In an earlier section I have referred to the importance of training for heads of residential institutions for children. There is a strong case for a specialized course of training for heads of Remand Homes, Approved Schools, and other types of institutions for the treatment of neglected or delinquent children and adolescents. This training would naturally be found partly in social education, partly in the administration of justice, showing once again the need for a close integration of different branches of social work.

House Property Management.—House Property Management was first recognized as a fruitful form of social service when Octavia Hill in the late eighties gathered around her a group of educated women and succeeded in convincing enlightened property owners that something more than door to door collection of rents was necessary. Octavia Hill was far in advance of her generation in her clear perception of the fundamental importance of decent homes for the people. For the most part she trained her own managers, but in one of her inspiring annual letters to her workers she discusses the necessity for a more systematic scheme of training using the analogy of the teaching and nursing professions.²

The last war brought fresh opportunities. Women were appointed as managers of emergency housing areas for munition workers and the attention that was focussed on the grave housing shortage during and succeeding the war rescued Octavia Hill's remarkable experiment in trained management from comparative obscurity to a new prominence. As in the case of most branches of social work trained workers were accepted first by voluntary housing societies, including the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as well

¹ The University of Edinburgh offers a diploma in Administrative Law and Practice for graduates.

² *Octavia Hill*, by E. Moberley Bell, a biography. Constable.

as private owners of property. In the last quarter of a century, however, they have been appointed in increasing numbers by Local Authorities for municipal housing estates, and during the years of the present war by the Ministries of Health, Supply, Aircraft Production and the Department of Health for Scotland, as well as the more progressive Local Authorities for billeting and rehousing of evacuated persons.

The question of training is here again complicated by a double standard of professional qualifications, since women housing managers are expected to qualify for the Women Housing Manager's certificate of the Chartered Surveyors Institution. As early as 1920 an interesting proposal was put forward that King's College of Household and Social Science, The London School of Economics, and the College of Estate Management might combine to provide a suitable scheme of training but this attractive proposal for inter-collegiate collaboration has not materialized. The present scheme of training is undertaken by the Society of Housing Managers themselves. It covers three years for students under 20 and one to two years for those with University qualifications. The relation to University Schools of Social Study is not so sharply defined as for other branches of social administration. But holders of a Social Science Diploma with a suitable practical experience may after a short probationary period start work with a small salary, taking further professional training and the surveyor's certificate while at work. This plan offers tempting possibilities so far absent in almost all other careers of some remuneration during the period of post diploma training.¹

Moral Welfare and Church Work.—In a later chapter I turn to the question of preparation for the social work of the Churches and religious organizations generally, but the scheme of training for moral welfare workers calls for

¹ Similar opportunities of remuneration with post diploma training are offered by the Charity Organization Society.

mention here because of its close association with the university. The Josephine Butler Memorial House in Liverpool which draws students from different Christian denominations all over the country offers a residential course of training covering two years and one term which includes work for a social science certificate at the School of Social study, supplemented by courses in theological subjects and problems and methods of moral welfare. This forms a very valuable precedent for collaboration between the universities and religious bodies which I shall attempt to elaborate later.

The whole question of some degree of social study as part of the training for religious work in the Church of England has been advanced by the thoughtful findings of the report of a committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Sheffield which appeared at the end of 1943.¹ This committee recommended that a small committee should be set up forthwith "to advise on training and that such a committee should be in close touch with those responsible for the training of social workers as well as of the various councils of the church." The inclusion of social study has, however, already been recognized and the highest grade of training for church workers requires a diploma in social science or some similar qualification.

Family Case Work.—It is curious that family case work, the basis of all sound social treatment, should be the last to be recognized as an end in itself with its own specialized training. The Charity Organization Society has for generations preached its fundamental importance and schools of training have given it at least lip service. But the present war and its repercussions have lifted family case work to a branch of social service in its own right and multiplied openings for trained workers. The lessons of evacuation and

¹ Report, *Women's Work in the Church*. Published by the Press and Publications Branch of the Church Assembly, 2, Great Peter Street, S.W. 1. 1s.

the problems of rehousing homeless victims of attack from the air have not fallen on deaf ears. The Ministry of Health set up a welfare department with a qualified social worker at its head and the appointment of regional and local welfare officers was encouraged by exchequer grants. Perusal of current advertisements indicates that some at least of the more progressive Local Authorities have taken this advice to heart. But the special opportunities of training except in London were limited and lacking in policy and standardization as compared with other branches of social work. Largely due to the influence of the Charity Organization Society an Association of Family Case Workers was formed in 1940 which has now established a course of training which would normally follow the Social Science Diploma course, covering a year, part of which will be spent in London and part at a provincial centre. This is a most timely development; it is right that such work should be regarded as a definite branch of social work with recognized training not only for the voluntary but for the assistance and future security services.

What will happen after the war? Will such family case workers be retained side by side with health visitors, school visitors, and the domiciliary officers of the Assistance Board or whatever may be the social security service of the future? Or better still, will the methods and principles of family case work come to be regarded as part of the preparation of all public servants concerned with problems which affect home life?

The Assistance Services.—As long ago as 1925 I wrote that a thorough overhauling and extension of our social services in the near future seemed inevitable. "The obsolete machinery of the Poor Law and the ill-fitting and leaky system of social insurance will in all probability be drastically revised. . . . If these developments are probable surely the time has come to plan the training of those who will

administer the revised policy.”¹ These words might have been written to-day. It is true that the intervening years have brought the transfer of the work of the Boards of Guardians to County and County Borough Councils and the setting up of Public Assistance Committees recently rechristened, euphemistically, Social Welfare Committees. An even more outstanding event was the Unemployment Act of 1934, which transferred all responsibility for certain classes of unemployed persons and three years later all unemployed insured persons to the Unemployment Assistance Board. This new board after stormy beginnings had fortunately settled down to an established routine before the outbreak of war, when it took over the operations of that stupendous war-time measure the Prevention and Relief of Distress (P.R.D.). In 1940 it dropped the limited qualification unemployment and by degrees became an “omnibus” welfare service which, though not perfect, proved itself a suitable medium, fresh, supple, and untrammelled by hoary tradition for the innumerable problems which threatened the home front.

The personnel of this new service was derived mainly from other branches of the Civil Service and comparatively few had any previous experience or training. A certain number transferred from Public Assistance Committees under local authorities had qualified for the certificate of the Poor Law Examinations Board, which still conducts examinations for officers of the Public Assistance, or, as it is now called, Social Welfare Authority.

But for the complete overhaul and reconstruction of social insurance and assistance services we are still waiting, though since the issue of the Beveridge report our hopes are built on something substantial and attainable.

It is sometimes claimed that a better fitting scheme of

¹ See *Equipment of the Social Worker*, p. 19. The Assistance Services are dealt with here instead of chapter 8, because of the extent of “casework” involved.

social insurance and allied services with the acceptance of the principle of money benefit as a right would automatically reduce the duties of the personnel engaged in administration. It is true that the majority of recipients of statutory allowances (especially if we accept Sir William Beveridge's "assumptions") may under such a scheme be trusted to manage their own affairs without interference or help. But even the best scheme under the best conditions will inevitably leave a residuum of cases which do not fit into the statutory framework and will call for individual diagnosis and treatment if thorough rehabilitation is to be achieved. Such individual work will fall to those engaged in interviewing and home visiting. Some sentences from the evidence submitted by the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration to the Interdepartmental Committee on social insurance and allied services may be quoted as indicating the highly skilled nature of such personal work. "It is slowly beginning to be realized in this country that interviewing—especially interviewing persons in some form of distress, is a highly skilled and delicate process which makes a heavy demand on the intelligence and sympathies of the interviewer. A trained and experienced official can, in a few moments, sort out the applications which come before him, separating the far larger number of those whose requirements are straightforward from the minority who represent problems to be solved. Intelligent interviewing of this kind involves wide knowledge of the different branches of the social service which may be called in, the ability to interpret these services to the individual in question, and the sympathetic understanding which is necessary to effect that co-operation between the helper and the helped without which the best 'case work' must fail. The visitor to the home carries on the work of the investigator and the same qualities of knowledge and sympathetic resourcefulness are demanded. Personality and experience go a

long way in the equipment of the type of official required, but these should be supplemented by systematic training."

But training of a body of officials numbering many thousands scattered all over the country presents no easy task. The experiments in training for officials under the Poor Laws Examinations Board do not give us much help. They are excellent so far as they go in giving some knowledge of the intricacies of the Elizabethan poor laws, but are mainly technical in their content though many officials have taken advantage of university and other courses covering a wider field. But out of those thousands a very large number will in all probability be engaged on routine or clerical work, leaving only a manageable number who are responsible for decisions or personal problems.

The Joint University Council in their memorandum of evidence to the Interdepartmental Committee propose, as a short term policy, special courses of lectures in social science departments or where this is improbable through extramural tutorial classes. Such lectures should offer a background to modern social problems, industrial and economic, and should include social administration and the psychology of "case work" and interviewing accompanied by visits to different types of statutory and voluntary social institutions. These courses should be given during the working hours of officials and the fees paid by the department concerned. They urge, however, that for a future long term policy much more is needed. Fully trained social workers who should find a place as part of the regular staff should be selected and trained at the expense of the State.¹ Two methods are proposed: first the seconding of suitable officers (men and women from inside the service) for a period of full time training at the university, and second the institution of posts inside the service, possibly in each divisional office on the analogy of the present "inspectorate" or "specialist" class

which should be recruited from persons with recognized social training and experience.

The Assistance Board, which is clearly destined to play a leading part in any future scheme of social security, has under consideration the means by which in the recruitment of staff for the future, due weight may be given to some form of university training and the possibility of enabling selected members of existing staffs to acquire such qualifications. This enlightened attitude is reinforced in recommendations submitted by the Departmental Whitley Council,¹ one of which urges "the encouragement of staff, after the war, to take university courses on social science and allied subjects". The sympathy and real understanding indicated in this report of the need for a high standard of "case work technique" should rejoice the hearts of C.O.S. pioneers who so long have been voices crying in the wilderness. This useful report has recently been reinforced by a statement on staff training signed by representatives of both officials and staff which describes interesting experiments in personnel training which have already been carried out and surveys possibilities for the future including co-operation with the universities for selected members of the staff.²

This unexpected and welcome emphasis brings us back to the previous section of this chapter which described the recently established specialized post graduate year for family case work. Though voluntary case work will and should continue no one can doubt that the main burden will fall on officials of the future social security service. In spite of the difficulties in the way of adequate provision for such immense numbers, with such sympathy and real endeavour on the part of those concerned the way will be found.

¹ Personnel Training in the Assistance Board Service. A submission addressed to Sir George Reid, R.B.E., C.B., Permanent Secretary, Assistance Board, by the Departmental Whitley Council staff side.

² Assistance Board Departmental Whitley Council statement on staff training, 26th November, 1943.

So far I have dealt mainly on the individual work of the service. But no less important is the higher headquarters staff which will be responsible for the direction of policy in a changing world, research, and relations with other Government departments. This calls for trained minds who have made a study of the social services—economists, psychiatrists, statisticians. Many persons possessing the necessary knowledge, training, and experience have been imported as temporary Civil Servants for war-time emergencies. They will not be less necessary for post-war planning and rebuilding.¹

¹ See *Social Security*, Chapter xiv (George Allen and Unwin), for a stimulating discussion of the equipment of staff for the proposed new security service.

CHAPTER 7

TRAINING FOR THE PERSONNEL OF THE STATUTORY SOCIAL SERVICES

The Beveridge report has focussed attention on the importance of a concerted policy against the five great evils: want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and unemployment. But the best planned scheme cannot in itself ensure success. Success depends on administration and administration depends not only on the efficiency of rank and file workers responsible for active work and personal contacts but on the quality of the far smaller numbers of the administrative staff responsible for direction and policy. Sir William himself recognized this when he urged "the selection and training of staff with special regard to their functions in serving the public".¹

In an earlier chapter I pointed out the impossibility of drawing an inner circle around the social services within the larger circle of the Civil Service. To-day the Civil Service has itself become a vast social service engaged in multifarious activities which affect the citizen of the modern state at every turn. But does the present method of recruitment produce a supply of persons qualified for the control and execution of such a wide programme of social policy? To-day changes are in the air; once again the machinery of Government is under review with a view to post-war reforms. This then is surely the moment for those of us who have made training for social administration the main business of our lives to make our voices heard in an urgent plea for a new standard of qualifications for the men and women in the higher ranks of the Civil Service hierarchy. Greatly daring, therefore, I shall make an attempt in this

¹ *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, par. 385 (b).

chapter to clear the position as I see it. In order to do this it will be necessary briefly to review past and present methods of recruitment for the statutory services before considering proposals for future changes.

Until the middle of the last century civil servants received their appointments through political patronage.¹ It was not until 1853 that Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, appointed two "Commoners" to report on methods of recruitment. They recommended that patronage should be abolished and a system of examinations adopted suited to the different grades of the services and conducted by an independent body of examiners. It should be noted that even at that early stage they had the prescience to recognize that some other method of selection than examination was required for appointments requiring "eminence in the liberal professions" thus paving the way for the ever widening specialist class. These recommendations were acclaimed with enthusiasm outside the services though, as readers of *The Three Clerks*² will remember, inside there were howls of dismay. It was not until 1871 that competition by examination became general for practically all entrants except those with professional qualifications and those appointed direct by the Crown. The highly marked interview as part of the examination for the administrative class was not introduced until 1917.

The wisdom of these reforms is self evident. The world-wide reputation of the British Civil Service for integrity and competence has proved their success. But it is impossible not to ask whether the open competitive examination system is sufficiently flexible for the purpose of recruitment for services which have so enormously changed their character and extended their scope and responsibilities. Yet two Royal

¹ See historical sketch, 1853-1912. 4th Report Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1914. *The British Civil Service*, Herman Finer.

² *The Three Clerks*, Trollope.

Commissions, apparently blind to these changes first in 1914 and again in 1931, amply confirmed the present methods of entrance! Even in the most recent, that of the Toulmin Commission,¹ the sole reference to the wholesale process of transformation during the last half-century is the mild observation that there has been a marked increase in the number of "specialist appointments" owing to the assumption by the State of "new and extended spheres of activity".²

At the present time, with the exception of the different inspectorates and "specialist" or technical branches, entrants to the higher and executive branches of the Home Civil Service are admitted on the results of competitive examinations with age limits ranging from 18 to 24. Only two of these examinations are open to University graduates:—

1. The examination for the administrative class which stands apart as the approach to the highest rank in the Service. Candidates for this must be over 21 and under 24 years of age.
2. The examination for the tax inspectorate class (also used to recruit third class officers in the Ministry of Labour) for which the age limits are the same as the administrative class.

The wide range of duties of successful candidates who enter the administrative class as assistant principals or the Ministry of Labour as third class officers cannot of course be described here, but no one to-day can deny their far-reaching social implications. In an unpublished speech to university students which I have had the privilege of reading, Hilda Martindale, formerly of the Home Office and H.M. Treasury, sketches the work of actual women in the higher

¹ Report, Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1929-1931, Cmd. 3919.

² These paragraphs apply of course to pre-war conditions. There have been no Civil Service Examinations during the war and, as everyone knows, there have been many entrants into the different Services from the Universities, the Professions, Big Business, etc.

ranges of the service, which convince more vividly than any generalities can, that not only in the so-called "social services", but in almost every branch to quote Lord Baldwin "they touch the lives of the people at a thousand points".¹

The third competitive examination is of a comparatively elementary character and is not open to university graduates because of the upper age limit of 19. Proposals to remove this age bar were rejected by the Royal Commission of 1931 on the ground that entry to this class from those who have had a secondary school education has proved satisfactory. This decision was arrived at after full recognition of the nature of the duties of executive officers and the fact that they are eligible for promotion to the highest ranks.² No doubt the quite reasonable view that promising boys and girls with secondary school education should not be barred from entry into the public services accounts for this decision, but surely the solution is not to lower the standard for the services but to offer wider and more equal opportunities of university education to all who can profit from it.

The selection of entrants to the Government Services with suitable qualifications by interview without competitive examination is not, however, without modern precedent. The most important example of this lies outside the Home Service. In the Colonial Civil Service, though certain entrants are recruited by the usual method, the majority are selected by competitive interview without examination by the Colonial Service Appointments Board consisting of three persons nominated by the Civil Service Com-

¹ *Women Servants of the State*, Hilda Martindale. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Foreword by Lord Baldwin.

² In the report of the Reorganization Committee of the National Whitley Council, 1920, par. 32, the duties of the Executive class are described as follows: This work covers a wide field and requires in different degrees qualities of judgment, initiative and resource. . . . In its upper ranges it is concerned with matters of internal organization and control, with the settlement of broad questions arising out of business in hand or in contemplation, and with the responsible character of important operations.

mission of whom one must have had recent practical experience in the Colonial Service. This is the result of recommendations made by the Committee on Recruitment for the Colonial Service presided over by Sir Warren Fisher.¹ This Committee took the view "that the special needs for the Colonial Service are a liberal education, a just and flexible mind, common sense and high character, and there is no calculus by which these endowments can be accurately assessed". In 1936 the shortage of candidates for Indian Civil Service compelled the Civil Service Commissioners to admit candidates who had taken first class honours degrees by the same method, a change which was warmly welcomed in a *Times* leading article.²

Similarly, the Home Service during the last quarter of a century admitted suitably qualified candidates without competitive examination on occasions when a rapid flow of legislation such as the Old Age Pensions, the Labour Exchange, and the National Insurance Acts "called for the immediate services of large staffs of officials often with qualifications somewhat differing from those commonly required in officers of the Civil Service and tested by the Civil Service entrance examinations".³

The system of selection then adopted marked a new departure in the Home Civil Service procedure—selection by committees representing the departments concerned and the Civil Service Commissioners. The annual report of the Civil Service Commissioners makes the following comment: "This experiment constitutes a new precedent; and in view of the numbers of posts that are being created, *for which special experience and capacity in dealing with practical affairs are of more importance than attainments such as can be tested by open or limited competition, we regard with satisfaction the apparent*

¹ Committee on appointments in the Colonial Office and Colonial Services, Cmd. 3554, 1930.

² *The Times*, 2nd July, 1936.

³ Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1914, par. 51, 52.

*success of this new method of selection. It is in fact a new kind of competition in which tests are applied such as men of business use in the choice of their employees."*¹

The report of the Royal Commission of 1914 devotes several paragraphs to this experiment, concluding with the following words: "This system claims—and here lies its essential character—to determine the comparative fitness of candidates by an appraisalment through personal interview, supplemented by testimonials of their character and intelligence. Examinations are often dispensed with, or, if used at all, are only used as a qualifying test. Substantially the system of appointment is selection by patronage, the abuses of patronage being, it is claimed, precluded by the substitution of a board or committee of selection for the 'Patron'. It makes a new departure in recruitment for the Civil Service, which calls for the most careful examination."²

Unfortunately neither the report of this committee nor that of its successor in 1931 submitted this new departure to that "careful examination". The Macdonnell Commission "takes no exception to this method as an emergency measure but believes that if a similar emergency should occur in the future it can be met by the customary procedure of the competitive examination, considered transfer from other departments, and by the selection of professional, quasi-professional, and other officers possessing special qualifications from outside". The Tomlin Commission of 1931 found "that open competition had worked well and that it would be impracticable and undesirable to introduce any other method".

The technique of the interview method of entrance has not, however, been ignored. In the report of His Majesty's

¹ *Fifty-fifth Annual Report H.M. Civil Service Commissioners*, p. xi. The italics are mine.

² Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1914, p. 23.

Civil Service Commissioners issued in 1938 (the last before the war) we are told that since the last war the interview method has been fairly generally used to recruit grades for which personality is of importance and for which intellectual knowledge and ability are vouched for by such credentials as degrees, diplomas, and membership of technical and professional associations. An interesting description of the machinery of the interview is given. The Department in question sifts the application forms for any vacancy which has been duly advertised and selected applicants appear before a Board nominated by the Civil Service Commissioners and the Department in conjunction, the Chairman being a Commissioner or a representative of the Commission. The Board are furnished with statements of the record and experience of the candidate and question the candidate with this statement before them. On the result of the interview they judge the suitability of each and select the required number who are thereupon appointed by the Commissioners provided they satisfy the regulations with regard to health and all other points.

There are departures from the customary routine of recruitment actually in practice. Of these, the method of selection of candidates for the branch of the Home Office staff known as the factory inspectorate is the most interesting. The upper age limit for entrants to this branch extends to the age of thirty and this may even be exceeded in the case of applications from candidates with exceptionally good qualifications. The entrance examination is not competitive, merely a test of ability to write good reports, etc. Candidates are chosen on the result of an interview by a selection board which takes into consideration the record of education and experience as well as the testimonials of those who have personal knowledge of their past work. The liberal spirit shown by the Home Office in its choice of a staff is apparent in a note to the effect that under the heading

of previous employment in the application form "any unpaid work such as social or welfare work should be mentioned".

The inspection of factories may indeed be regarded as a sample of public social services. It can hardly be described as a self-contained profession like medicine or teaching. Nor are its officers inspectors in the usual sense of the term. Different varieties of ability, knowledge, or experience are welcomed and utilized. The method of selection throws the door of entrance open wide to men and women of maturer years, who in addition to a good education can show a record of successful work. Far from selecting youthful aspirants who manage to secure the highest places in an academic examination, the Home Office rakes the country to find the best recruits. Why should not this method be extended to other forms of the services?

The principle of selection for what we may call semi-professional or specialist forms of the public social services has also been accepted for certain types of subordinate officials both in the National and Municipal services. The most advanced development of this kind is an experiment by the Home Office in the training of probation officers. This experiment does not, however, end with selection; it proceeds to offer selected candidates who have not had the required training a period of preparation in a university department for social study, with practical experience under the direction of police court probation officers, before entrance to the service. The Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in its report issued in 1936 approved this experiment and recommended important extensions, including the appointment of a Central Training and Selection Board on which appointing authorities and the universities should be represented. This has already been carried into effect and is, I think, the first board of the kind to be set up in any government depart-

ment. Here again we have a precedent which may well suggest lines of advance for the future.

The Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration in submitting evidence to the Royal Commission on the Civil Services among other minor recommendations urged that for positions inside the Civil Service which are substantially analogous to those outside the service, admission might be treated on the same footing as professional or "specialist" appointments. It also recommended the seconding in suitable cases of younger civil servants for a year to university social study departments in order to qualify for transfer or promotion. But no notice was taken of these recommendations. The matter arose again in 1936 when Professor Ernest Barker in an article in the *Political Quarterly* on the Home Civil Service urged the recruitment of a class of maturer men and women for the administrative class, some paragraphs of which I quote in full.¹

"Some recruitment for the administrative class might well be made from men and women of an older growth, who, after completing their university course, have spent some years in social work and social service or in a course of social study mixed with social work (such as is provided by some of our universities . . .) or in some field of practical experience in some business or profession. It is possible to imagine an alternative form of competition, with a higher age limit (say from the age of 24 to that of 28), for persons who could produce a record of such work, or study, or experience; it is possible to imagine an alternative form of examination, in which the oral interview might be longer and more searching, the papers might be different and more specialized, and (conceivably but perhaps improbably) some written account of investigations or surveys might even be allowed to count. The universities have a technique of testing what

¹ *Political Quarterly*, April-June, 1936; reprinted in *The British Civil Servant*, George Allen & Unwin, 1937. This article should be read by every one interested in this subject.

is called post-graduate work. The Civil Service Commission could readily elaborate a similar technique; and they could afford, at any rate experimentally, to allocate some proportion of the places filled by competition to candidates of the post-graduate type.¹ . . . There would be a number of advantages in such an alternative examination. The State would gain by enjoying a greater range of choice, and by securing what might prove to be material specially suitable to the new developments of its work. The type of student who does not wish to rush into immediate occupation as soon as he has taken his degree, but to acquire further experience and larger qualifications, would be recognized. . . . Women candidates, in particular, might benefit. It is only a very small proportion of women students who succeed in the present open competition; indeed very few compete. On the alternative system here suggested it is possible, and indeed probable, that a much larger proportion of women would be candidates. Women have a genius and a capacity for social work and service. The alternative form of competition would give them a chance of showing that genius and that capacity."

A small committee of the Joint University Council with Professor Ernest Barker as its chairman was appointed in 1936 to consider the possible methods of putting this proposal into practice. This committee recommended that there should be an opportunity of entrance to the administrative class for older men and women who have had appropriate training and administrative experience. Other recommendations urged an increase of the inspectorate for the social services recruited from persons with suitable training and the admission to the different departments of fully qualified social workers on the strength of their professional training.

¹ Exactly what is now proposed for the Foreign Office and as is now done in the Indian Civil Service. (My footnote.)

Professor Barker's revolutionary proposals have not escaped inside criticism. An experienced civil servant writing in 1941¹ takes the view that the higher age limit suggested by him² is much "too old to face the drudgery required for the acquisition of one qualification essential to the high official—complete familiarity with the working of the machine of government". It strikes the non-official mind that something must be wrong with the machine of government if a few years work outside Whitehall makes a man too old at 30 to acquire a knowledge of its technique. It is not too much to hope that a system of compromise between the official and the academic view may be reached. The Barker proposals find unexpected if unconscious advocacy in a recent white paper issued by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the Reform of the Foreign Office.

Two methods of entrance are here proposed. The first is by open examination between the ages of 21 and 23, to be conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners and "so designed that candidates can take it shortly after their university degree examination and without special study". The second opens the door wider and as every word could apply with equal force to other branches of the Home Service I quote part of the paragraph in full. "There are men of character and ability who are not good examinees and whose qualities do not show themselves to advantage in a written examination. It is important to widen as far as possible the field of selection and method two has accordingly been designed to secure the services of suitable candidates not above the age of 30 who might otherwise prefer to accept some post outside government service which would depend not upon a written examination but upon personality and record. This method is also designed to enable due weight to be given to the claims of character and personality as

¹ *The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain*. H. E. Dale, 1941.

² *Proposals for the Reform of the Foreign Office*, Cmd. 6420, 1943.

distinct from mere ability to pass written examinations." It is, therefore, proposed that for an experimental period of ten years, candidates for not more than 25 per cent. of the annual vacancies will be chosen mainly by selection on the basis of their records, of their showing before an interview board when a really high standard of attainment will be expected. Is there a reasonable hope that such a reasonable proposal may be considered throughout the services?

In reply to a Parliamentary question on 17th February, 1944, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that "after this war it would be an immediate objective in the Government's view to resume normal competitions at the earliest possible moment", but added "that every care would be taken to ensure that men and women who had been engaged in war service should be at no disadvantage and that arrangements would be made for the retention of members of the existing temporary staff above the age for open competitions". The matter has been referred to the National Whitley Council and further statements will be issued. In a leading article *The Times* approved the retention of temporary officers who have proved their merit as established civil servants and at the same time expressed the view that with its ever widening contacts with industry the Civil Service has need of "a substantial proportion of mature members whose interests and experience qualify them for work of a kind hitherto unfamiliar to the traditional Civil Service. The first supply of such officers will naturally come from the temporary ranks; for their replenishment, it may be assumed that the scope of the entrance examinations will be correspondingly broadened or that new methods of recruitment will be devised."

Another recent suggestion not for recruitment but for the post entry training of Civil Service personnel has recently appeared in an unexpected place—one of the reports of the Select Committee on National Expenditure—

the creation of a staff college to which picked members of the Administrative and Professional grades as well as promising members of the Executive and Clerical grades could be sent after a few years' service.¹ The syllabus, it is suggested, might include courses in public administration, modern developments in trade and industry, economics, social services, etc., and the civil servant should be brought into "visual contact with commerce and industry and with the work of the Local Authorities, Public Utility Companies, Social Services, etc."²

The Committee unconsciously condemn their own proposal when they say in their preamble: "The great majority of civil servants are recruited at an early age before they have been brought into contact with the complicated realities of the outside world and without any practical training for the work that lies before them. Nevertheless, their activities impinge in an ever increasing degree on the life and business of the community." Why, then, send them for post entry training to a self-contained institution where they will meet the same people, breathe the same atmosphere, mix in the same narrow circle. The proposal of a staff college can hardly be expected to meet with approval from Educationists³ nor does it seem probable that it will be blessed by civil servants themselves. In his Sidney Ball lecture in Oxford this year Mr. H. E. Dale, already quoted by me in criticism of Professor Barker's proposals, comes to the

¹ Select Committee on National Expenditure. 16th Report for Session, 1941-2, on "Organization and Control of the Civil Service".

² The report of the Select Committee led to the appointment of a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. "To examine the general question of the training of Civil Servants, including the question whether a Staff College should be established and, if so, the particular form and character which that College should take." This Committee reported in May, 1944. See Appendix.

³ See British Association Committee on Post War University Education—fifth interim report on Education for the Public Services. "The Committee claims that the practice of attaching courses for probationers in the public services to Universities has justified itself by contrast with the system of education in a special professional establishment."

rescue.¹ He urges that if such a college be established it should not be limited to civil servants. Anything that tends to bring civil servants into contact with men of other professions or businesses is to be encouraged and anything with the contrary tendency is a mistake. For this, among other reasons, I suggest that if a case is ultimately made out for some kind of organized courses for junior civil servants, they would be better held at universities than concentrated at a special institution. It may, of course, be argued by some, especially those unfamiliar with university life, that the atmosphere of the university is more cloistered than that of Whitehall but the modern university, either Uxbridge or Redbrick,² is not so segregated as it used to be. A course of study for public service on the lines laid down in the same report would attract many different types of candidates and offer not only opportunities of quiet study but contacts of a very varied kind.

I make no apology for dealing at such length with the administrative class of the Civil Service. Its numbers are small but important. A change in the method of recruitment for this class in my view is the corner stone of the building up of a really well qualified personnel for the social services. Compared with this, the training and qualifications of the actual practitioners is a comparatively simple matter and as we shall see in the next chapter is settling itself.

Before passing on to the part played by the universities in training for Local Government I must touch briefly on the requirements of those who enter the Indian or Colonial Service. Each country has its own peculiar needs and its own tradition; attempts to transplant British methods wholesale to different civilizations obviously end in failure. But some background of social studies such as is recommended in the British Association Report already referred to could

¹ *The Personnel and Problems of the Higher Civil Service* by H. E. Dale, C.B. Sidney Ball Lecture, Feb., 1943. Barnett House Papers, Oxford No. 26.

² See p. 113 *infra*.

not fail to lighten the task of the British administrator faced by problems on a scale unprecedented in this country.¹ Experiments have already been made for probationary periods of university study covering principles and methods of social administration before going overseas. Recently in the Colonial Service successful candidates for posts concerned with labour management in the West Indies were admitted to intensive war courses on the subject, and at the present time plans are under consideration for more complete courses of study at selected Universities covering the usual social subjects including Anthropology. But certainly in India and in some at least of the Colonies and Mandated Territories, an increasing number of qualified workers will receive their training in their own country. Beginnings in this direction have already been made in India, and Professor Simey in discussing training and research for social workers for service in the West Indies urges the provision of two years' courses of training on similar lines to those organized in British universities.²

Much of what has been already said applies equally to the Local Government Service. The late Graham Wallas, giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Local Government which reported in 1929, pointed out the rapid widening of social policy and urged the appointment of a Departmental Committee to consider anew the problem of recruitment and training. The "Hadow Committee" appointed in 1930³ was the result. The report of this committee states a convincing case for the recruitment of graduates on the Local Government staff, but though its recommendations were supported by the National Association of Local Government Officers, comparatively little progress was made before the

¹ On Education for the Public Service, British Association Report, 1943.

² Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1940-1942. Report by Sir Frank Stockdale, K.C.M.G., C.B.E. 1943.

³ Committee on Qualifications, Recruitment, Training, and Promotion of Local Government Officers, 1934.

present war.¹ It is, of course, the training of those officers who are concerned with the carrying out of the Social Services with which we are here concerned, such as the social aspects of the Education service in its widest sense, the health, hospital, maternity, and child welfare service, mental welfare, and house property management. As we have seen, such activities are becoming rapidly professionalized with their own standards of training, which as the advertisement columns of the Press shows every day are accepted by the Local Authorities. But in the local government services, as in the Civil Service, it is not enough to have trained practitioners if those under whom they serve have no conception of what social work means. There are still Education Committees and Directors of Education who proudly inaugurate a well-planned system of social welfare, with the elementary school as centre, for which the already overburdened teacher is made responsible, or Housing Committees and directors who hopefully transplant streets of families from slums to model estates and expect them overnight to abandon habits for which they can hardly be blamed and settle down to a wholly different existence, without the help and encouragement of a trained house property manager.

Some years ago it was noticeable that it was much easier to secure reforms in social administration through Central rather than Local Government Bodies largely because, if I may venture to say so, the administrators concerned were men or women of more advanced outlook. This is happily much less the case to-day, especially in the more enlightened local authorities, in fact the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. But it does point to the importance of a socially trained administrative staff equally in both services.

Finally it only remains here to consider the real advance

¹ "The University Graduate and the Local Government Service," by T. S. Simey. *Politica*, June, 1938.

that has already been made in education and training for public administration with the whole-hearted co-operation and approval (and in the case of the latter financial assistance) from the Institute of Public Administration and the National Association of Local Government Officers.¹

Even before the last war, some universities led the way by inaugurating short *ad hoc* courses of lectures to meet the needs of officials engaged in newly created forms of public social service. As long ago as 1921 at a congress of the universities of the Empire the author of the Beveridge report said that "the time has now come to recognize in the same rank as the old 'learned professions' . . . a new learned profession of growing importance which may best be described as that of Public Administration and should be taken to include not only Civil Servants properly so called by the members and officers of Local Authorities, but the officials of employers and workmen's associations and Members of both Houses of Parliament." ²

There is unfortunately little information available as to the number of those who have hitherto taken advantage of such courses of study. The Glasgow school of social study ³ which has hitherto provided evening courses of study has included among its students for many years officials engaged in many branches of administration, including the Assistance Services, and before the war students in such departments were increasing.

Such courses on public administration are not of course limited to social science subjects. They are designed to meet the needs for all branches of the services, though they not unnaturally draw most widely from officials in departments which have not their own technical professional examinations

¹ It should perhaps here be noted that in addition to grants to Universities for Departments of Public Administration, N.A.L.G.O. has given the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration a grant towards its office rent.

² *Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire*, 1921. G. Bell & Sons.

³ Now incorporated in the University of Glasgow.

offered by various outside institutes. I realize that I am here treading on dangerous ground, but is there not a danger in narrowly technical qualifications? In his valuable book on Local Government, Mr. L. Hill, late secretary of N.A.L.G.O., gives a bewildering list of examinations appropriate to the different branches of the local government service which extends over five pages, the large majority of which are attached to non-academic institutes or associations.¹ This difficulty is all the more important because of the method of ladder promotion which prevails in the service and can only be met by better collaboration in the teaching of the principles that lie behind administration and instruction in purely technical aspects. No hard and fast standards of entrance are required for diploma courses on public administration, though matriculation or corresponding examination qualification is necessary for those desiring to work for a degree.² The subjects covered include among others economic theory and history: Constitutional law; social and political theory; public finance; political philosophy; social statistics and economics of public utility and public undertakings; history of central and local government and public administration. The relation between departments for public administration and social study must logically become closer until indeed they are united with the same aim and methods which cannot be too often repeated—the welding together of relevant subjects in close relation to each other and, equally important, with opportunities of practical experience of social and economic conditions.

¹ *The Local Government Officer*, L. Hill, 1938. George Allen and Unwin.

² For list of universities offering diplomas see Appendix.

CHAPTER 8

EXTENSION FACILITIES OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL STUDY

The modern university reaches far beyond its lecture theatres and classrooms. Through its extension or extra-mural department it permeates the world outside. In *Redbrick University*¹ the writer "envisages a university with its doors flung open, its lights blazing, and its great halls filled on wellnigh every night of the week, yes and sometimes even on Sundays . . . No university extension is complete which has not its roots in the university itself: like charity it must begin at home". He pays tribute nevertheless to the work done outside by the Workers' Educational Association and tutorial classes when the teacher leaves his platform to meet his pupils in their own surroundings in mining village or factory town.

The relation of this great movement of university extension to departments of social study is far from clear, though there is no group of subjects in greater demand than those with which those schools are concerned. Many of their most successful entrants have found their background of study in university tutorial classes possibly supplemented by a period at Ruskin College or its counterpart for women. It is not too much to say that the student who has earned his living by day and pursued an evening course in social science subjects covering several years is better qualified for some branch of social service than the majority of immature young things who enter about the age of 19 or 20 armed with matriculation or even later with a university degree.

But this chapter is concerned not with entrance qualifications, but with opportunities for those who have already

¹ *Redbrick University*, by Bruce Truscott. Faber and Faber, Ltd. 10s. 6d. pp. 185, 186.

entered on some kind of career for which social studies will prove helpful.

To some extent schools of social study have in the past made provision for such students; special courses have been offered for those studying for the Church or Mission field, for teachers, district nurses, and others whose professional duties bring them in touch with problems of poverty. I recall a lecture room in a large university where ministers of religion, members of the local authority, nurses, teachers, sisters of charity, and at least one magistrate and one police officer, sat side by side during a course on the principles and practice of social administration introduced by university lectures followed by practical discussions led by experts on each separate subject.

But no widespread effort has been made in this direction. university schools of social study have seldom the staff for such extension work; on the other hand extra-mural departments have not always the special experience which will enable them to offer what is wanted. If the universities are to show themselves sensitive to the needs of different working groups in the community, they must cultivate contacts with these groups. Such contacts are the business of schools of social study so far as the social services are concerned and with the help of the extra-mural department they are or ought to be in a position to guide the external part-time as well as the full-time professional student. But once again this means careful integration of university resources instead of the present chaotic isolationism.

It may clear the air if I divide the classes for whom extension facilities in social study are needed into three main groups.

(1) Those who wish to supplement by social study and experience their training for other professions:

(2) "Education for the educated." Those engaged in

social work of some kind who wish extended knowledge from time to time.

(3) The ordinary public-spirited citizen whose social consciousness needs some systematic guidance as part of his citizenship.

The last group remains outside our consideration until their citizenship becomes sufficiently developed to justify promotion to the second class, which covers all labourers in the wide field of social service, statutory or voluntary. There are already strong forces at work for the better education for citizenship at different stages from childhood throughout adult life, and their needs are not overlooked in the new Education Act.

Extension Teaching for other Professional Careers: Social Medicine.—When I turn to my first group I find that little progress has been made since in my first book I attempted an examination of opportunities available for different professions. There is, however, a hopeful trend toward better co-operation in training for professions and occupations which have elements in common. I have already alluded to the most conspicuous example of this which is found in social medicine and discussed some of its ancillary branches concerned with social work. But something much more ambitious is now anticipated. It is hoped that the medical practitioner himself shall have some instruction on the social background of his patients. The recent report of the Royal College of Physicians on medical education gives the hope that we are on the threshold of a new development of wide social importance, anticipated by pioneer thinkers but now in the process of actual fulfilment. This report urges that the training of practitioners must include "the study of man in his environment—of the person or patient in relation to his family, industrial, and social background . . . to this end the aim should be (a) to indicate to the student some of the personal, industrial, and social factors which

contribute to the causation of human disease; (b) to demonstrate the structure and working of the preventive and remedial organizations provided by public and voluntary agencies with the object of modifying or counteracting the effect of these causal factors, and (c) to train him in the practice of social investigation so that he may be able in the practice of his profession to use the appropriate social technique to reinforce his therapy." ¹ No longer will social study departments apologetically invite medical students to attend a few elementary lectures on the social services, but in future the school of medicine and the school of social study will co-operate in the equipment of the doctor, the medical officer of health, and not less important the nurse, the health visitor, the midwife, and all others responsible for the social medical services.

This does not mean that doctors or nurses will become social workers in the practising sense of the term. On the contrary they will be trained to make use of the social agencies at their disposal to the fullest possible extent; they will appreciate their necessity and value and join forces with their representatives to the great benefit of the patient.

Education.—Nearly twenty years ago I wrote "The close relationship between social and educational work suggests very close co-operation between schools of social study and departments of education". But we have had to wait for another war for such co-operation and even now it looks as if this co-operation will resemble that between the tiger and his victim and results in one department, the biggest and strongest, swallowing the other whole.

The recruitment and training of the vast army of teachers which will be needed to carry on the reforms in the Education Bill at present before Parliament ² is still under con-

¹ Report, Royal College of Physicians. In a memorandum on medical education prepared by the British Medical Students' Association, sociology is recommended as a subject for the official syllabus. See Appendix.

² This became law July, 1944.

sideration by the McNair Committee whose report is anxiously awaited.¹ In one respect at least some advance has been made in the years between the wars. Much more attention has been given to the inclusion of some form of social study and practical experience in the training of teachers. The danger at the moment seems possibly to lie in the opposite direction—that of a little knowledge, a superficial smattering of sociology. Teachers like medical practitioners should understand the lives and the problems of their pupils, but it should not fall to them to deal with the extended social services promised in the Education Bill. Each well organized school or group of schools like each hospital or group of hospitals should have its trained social service working of course in co-operation with the teacher.

The Domestic Science Teacher and possibly also the nursery school teacher are in a somewhat different category. The former deals with home life. She is brought into contact with adolescent girls and young women looking forward to marriage and to some extent with married women in adult classes. She should know something of home economics—the theory of production, distribution, expenditure and prices, food values, hygiene, furnishing, whether she teaches the daughters of the rich or of the poor. If the latter she should know from personal observation how large numbers of the population actually live—the housing shortage, the absence of conveniences and labour saving facilities, the drawbacks of the credit or hire-purchase system, and the more serious dangers of the pawnbroker and moneylender. The most complete university scheme of training in household science is offered by King's College for Household and Social Science, but some teaching of this kind is and ought to be included in most domestic science courses. The nursery school teacher is also in a very real sense a social worker not only for her work for children at an impression-

¹ The McNair report appeared in May, 1944, see Appendix.

able age but for her opportunities of helping and educating young mothers.¹

The Church.—In a previous chapter I described the progress that had been made in training for moral welfare, but so far as I know no systematic provision beyond occasional lecture courses and a more liberal interpretation of "pastoral theology" has been attempted in the training of ministers of religion, lay evangelists, deaconesses or other types of religious teachers. Some of these find their way to the university school of social study and recently the Salvation Army has made arrangements to second some selected women officers for full-time diploma courses of study. The importance of a re-orientation of theological courses to include some serious study of modern social problems and experiments is greater to-day than ever before when the churches under the guidance of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and other leaders of religious thought, are seeking the right approach of the church to problems of social practice. The difficulty is the old familiar one—how to include new subjects in an already heavy professional curriculum.

The recent report of the Archbishops' Commission on Training for the Ministry still further complicates the position by the startling new proposal that some ordinands should take the full university diploma course in teaching, and others at least a three months' course of training at a church training college before they start their theological education with further training in the post-ordination period; they stress the importance of social study and experience, and recommend that all ordinands should be able to produce evidence that they have done some social work under responsible supervision.

There appears to be a two-fold need for the future minister of religion so far as social studies are concerned.

¹ See also p. 79, training for institutions for children.

Hitherto emphasis has been placed on practical needs—ability effectively to advise those who stand in need of material help. In a modern community with the manifold resources of the statutory and voluntary public services available this should involve little more than some study of the outlines and principles of social administration supplemented by some practical experience.

The second demand also dealt with in this report is far more difficult of attainment—how with limited time at his disposal the ordinand can acquire the basic understanding of modern social economics, industrial relationships, social psychology and theory, which will justify a minister of religion in expressing authoritative opinions as to the Christian approach. To quote the report “Great attention is now being given to the social and economic aspects of the church’s duty and the discussion of Christian and rival theories of society and the State. . . . It is much to be desired that some men with the necessary ability and inclination should be encouraged to carry study of these matters beyond an amateur level. . . . It is impossible to make suggestions adequate to cover a variety of opportunity and need potentially so wide, but we call attention to the larger range of teaching and experience which closer association with the universities should make available.” Whether this deeper study can be fitted into pre-ordination training or deferred until after ordination is a matter which can only be decided by those responsible for training. But perhaps a lay-observer may be permitted to urge that the study and practical experience of modern social, industrial, and economic problems should not be undertaken in an atmosphere of segregation but in circumstances which enable the student to mix freely with men and women of all shades of religious and political faith.

Other Professions.—I could multiply these examples of professions in which specialist training may be enriched

by the introduction of social studies. The future lawyer, industrialist, engineer, architect, business-man, employer of labour, agriculturist, would all be the better of some intimate understanding of the social evils sapping the strength of those lives touched directly or indirectly by their work.

Opportunity of Refresher Courses.—My second heading is not less important than the first. Indeed, its special importance is even more conspicuous at the present time—the need for opportunities of study for those who have already entered on their professional career as social workers but who wish to be kept up to date and refreshed intellectually from time to time.

Dr. Richard Livingstone in his book on the *Future of Education* pleads for education for the educated. "Everyone," he says, "who is engaged in routine or practical work, especially if he occupies a directing position, needs periods of systematic study in order to refresh and re-equip and re-orientate his mind." In no field is this more true than in social administration, where principles remain steadfast but methods of approach call for constant revision.

Already we are asked by social workers at present on war service what arrangements will be made for short refresher courses prior to their return to the home field. How can provision best be organized for their needs? Sir Richard Livingstone claims that universities are in a strong position to satisfy this need. "They have the teachers, the libraries, the atmosphere and tradition of study and research." But the universities will be taxed to their utmost capacity with candidates for full-time professional training, and in some places, at least, other opportunities will have to be found. The most obvious and by far the best from an educational point of view are offered by university extension boards and other extra-mural schemes of study such as those offered by the Workers' Educational Association. Hitherto such extra-

mural schemes in so far as they have undertaken similar work have tended to be too much divorced from schools of social study. Tutors have been appointed with but little personal experience of the actual working of the social services, or the requirements of the student for different branches of these services. The solution is, of course, the closest possible co-operation between the school of social study and the extension department which should form a joint partnership for the provision of continued education of social workers scattered up and down the country. So far as London University is concerned, the University Extension Tutorial Classes Council is represented on the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration, and in some university towns elsewhere useful methods of collaboration have already been instituted.

In my first book I made a suggestion, which so far as I know has escaped attention, that universities should establish sub-centres of social study in areas out of reach of a university.

Such a branch of university social study schools would naturally be closely associated with university extension or tutorial classes, the Local Education Authority, and the Library Committee; it would be able to offer some of the advantages of the parent school—a library, reading room, classes, and tutorial teaching. For purposes of research such a development, say in a factory town in Lancashire or Yorkshire, or a mining centre in Scotland, or even in a rural area, should prove a very valuable annexe to the university, and a valuable recruiting ground for future workers. The National Council of Social Service and the British Federation of Social Workers, which is now developing regional activities, are both taking the question of the continued education of its members very seriously and could be relied on for advice and support.

Another proposal for at least certain branches of such

extension teaching is to be found in connection with technical colleges scattered throughout the country. Those colleges do not necessarily confine themselves to technological education and in some places are already experimenting in social studies. In London and other large towns there are many centres of different kinds, including polytechnics, evening institutes, settlements, educational institutions such as Morley College and Toynbee Hall in London where part-time social study courses have already been arranged. Those do not pretend to be of professional standard but have been found useful for pre-professional training or refresher courses. Local Educational Authorities are also entering the field with some success. The question of collaboration between technical colleges and the universities is at present under consideration by a departmental committee, which it is hoped may simplify the position with regard to social studies.¹

There is a natural impulse on the part of an education authority or technical college to offer courses of study for which there appears to be a popular demand and there is a danger that students may be attracted under the impression that they are of some professional value. But branches of social services are, as we have seen, now well organized and are in a position to safeguard their entrants from short cuts which lead nowhere.

Towards the end of the last war there was exactly the same demand for short interim courses of social study; I have already referred to the Joint Social Studies Committee set up in London which met with some success in organizing part-time courses on sound lines. A similar com-

¹ On 5th April, 1944, the President of the Board of Education in reply to a question stated that he had appointed a Departmental Committee "to consider the needs of higher technological education in England and Wales and the respective contributions to be made thereto by Universities and Technical Colleges, and to make recommendations, among other things, as to the means for maintaining appropriate collaboration between universities and technical colleges in this field. See Appendix.

mittee has now been started in connection with the National Council of Social Service on which the universities are represented and from which advice as to the content of short courses may be obtained. There is a definite educational technique involved in the preparation of such courses, and wherever possible they should be associated with the nearest university school and if intended as refresher courses for professional social workers, conducted with the approval of the organization concerned.

Finally there is a conspicuous gap in the provision of extension facilities for social study. To crown the existing opportunities there should be a National Institute of Social Studies in a central position comparable in social "affairs" to the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Such an institute would become a centre for social studies in the most liberal sense of the term. Its activities would include research in co-operation with other universities and other existing bodies engaged in research. Under its aegis, groups of representative experts could be collected to prepare reports on different subjects which claimed attention. It would accumulate a comprehensive reference library with publications of all kinds, British and foreign, on social subjects and offer accommodation for reading and study. But it should be something more than an academic centre. It should welcome under its hospitable roof representatives of all organizations concerned with the administration of the social services, statutory and voluntary. It could then become a centre not only for social planners but for social practitioners—hitherto the two have all too seldom met. Further, and this brings me back to the subject of the present chapter, social practitioners of every type from the Civil Servant to the case worker in search of a sabbatic period of study or intellectual refreshment, would find within its walls a hospitable welcome and facilities for advanced study, sometimes guidance in preparing original work of recognized

value in the best form of publication. Not least in importance such an institute would provide a headquarters for inquirers from other parts of our Empire, from the United States, and other countries overseas. Every social organization knows only too well how numerous such inquirers were before the war and how the unfortunate seekers for information were driven from pillar to post in search of knowledge. The British Council now gives valuable help in this direction but there is no centre where the student of some aspect of social administration may find hospitality and facilities for research. Is there any hope that Nuffield College may become such a centre in post-war days? In recent years social studies have received greater recognition and suitable endowments should be forthcoming if a convincing case is made out for the need for such an Institute of Social Studies.

CHAPTER 9

THE FUTURE

This chapter is written at a time when it is not easy to turn our attention to future planning from the immediate needs of a final maximum war effort. But the solution of post-war problems at home and even more in countries devastated by war must be faced as part of the war effort. We must have our lamps filled and burning ready to throw light on the stupendous problems which peace will bring.

On the home front a Minister of Reconstruction, himself formerly a social worker, and innumerable planning committees are at work. On an immeasurably larger scale the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Association is already assembling forces for their herculean labours in different parts of the world. It is outside my province to consider these vaster problems or the very diverse training qualifications they demand. The word "reconstruction" used by us so lightly carries a very different meaning in places where civilization must be painstakingly rebuilt from its foundations—the most rudimentary provision of shelter, hygiene, and the feeding of a half-starved population. It is a great and enviable task, and we welcome the thought that many of the men and women who have played a part in the war effort will be privileged to have a share in the healing of the nations.

But no apology is necessary for an attempt to put our own house in order. Like the methodical and efficient housewife who finds time to help her neighbours, the better we do our own job, the better can we help our neighbours overseas. In the new world which we pray may emerge from the barbarities of war, there must be a new emphasis on freedom from want in the intellectual and spiritual as well as the

physical sense of the term. It is, therefore, only right even during a critical stage of the war to ensure an adequate supply of men and women fully trained and equipped to meet post war problems.

In this last chapter I propose to sum up some of the principles I have endeavoured to postulate as essentials of such preparation and at the same time to consider future changes which will enable men and women eager to serve their country in the tasks of peace to enter the social services more easily than has hitherto been possible.

At the outset I tried to show that social services have now no hard and fast boundaries. They cover all efforts preventive and curative which are concerned with the attack on the giant evils of the Beveridge report or to put it more constructively, all efforts concerned with health of body, mind, and spirit, decent and happy homes, education from the nursery school to adult life, and a sense of security from the chances and changes to which mankind is liable.

These services do not call for the same qualifications in their practitioners. Some, such as medicine, have their own long exacting professional standards though in modern times all must (to use an ugly word) be "socialized"—brought into harmonious relation to human life and its demands. But something more than this is necessary. A new profession during the last half century of rapid social progress has come into being which is concerned primarily with the application and synthesis of the different social services and to this we give the name social work or social administration. This profession has many different side lines calling for equally different qualifications, but the basic educational requirements are the same for all and university schools of social study have been established in most universities where academic subjects concerned with the social sciences are taught, *not only in close relation to each other, but to actual conditions of human life outside.* Later I have sketched the

development of the movement for training from its beginnings in the nineties up to the present time when it has suddenly blossomed into unwonted popularity.

In the four following chapters I discuss the university as the best centre for training and many problems which arise in the provision both of academic instruction and practical experience. I hope in my arguments for and against I have successfully weighted the scales in favour of the university as the appropriate centre, but I have tried not to oversimplify the difficulties of training for so many sided and so relatively new a profession which embraces and indeed welcomes entrants possessing such widely different backgrounds. Much that I have said takes the form of questions rather than dogmatic answers, especially when I discuss specialized training for different branches of the social services, statutory and voluntary. Happily these branches are now well organized and in a position to speak for themselves. They are continually called in consultation by the universities and in this close collaboration between academic teaching and practice lies the best hope of future success.

My most ambitious venture is my chapter on training for the personnel for the public statutory services. The outsider proverbially rushes in where experts fear to tread. I can only hope that, with any inaccuracies in the presentation of facts or their interpretation, I have got across what appears to me to be a fundamental principle that the door to the higher administrative posts of the Civil Services must be opened to a maturer type of candidate than those who successfully pass a competitive examination at an early age. This appears to me an elementary and obvious change in the interests, not only of men and women entering social administration as a profession, but of a modernized and socialized Civil Service itself.

The school of social study from its very nature and object can never be a self-contained department. It must on the one

hand be closely allied with other university departments by means of joint boards on which these different departments are represented and by opportunities of interdepartmental teaching. But on the other hand a school of social study is an amphibious body requiring two elements for its very existence. It belongs to the community as well as the university and must have direct contacts with administrative bodies of all kinds in the world of action outside. Without such contacts the school has no *raison d'être*. It becomes as meaningless as a medical school without a hospital, an education department with no practising school, an engineering department with no workshop.

The tendency of schools in this country has been to extend, so far as the poverty of their equipment would allow, a generous hospitality to all who desire social study, and the school of the future will follow the same lines. It will not be narrowed down to a post graduate school, because social study is not intellectually exclusive; it cannot become narrowly vocational, because social practice cannot be divorced from social philosophy. Honours graduates from whom will be drawn entrants to the higher branches of social administration will find facilities for applied study or research leading to a diploma or higher degree. The less ambitious or less well educated student will follow courses leading to a certificate. In co-operation with university extension and extra-mural departments, lectures of an introductory or refresher character will be open to public-spirited citizens or to those already immersed in social administrative work. Finally the school will become a teaching and a practising centre of social research.

But though every university should have its school of social study, they do not all require the same equipment and their aims need not be identical. There are certain subjects which must be common to all, but otherwise they will develop their own individuality according to local circum-

stance. Schools in great cities will tend to become centres of instruction and research on a large scale. Other universities, while offering general social study, will develop their own line of specializations. Oxford, for example, has opportunities for study of rural conditions from its centre at Barnett House; Manchester, Glasgow, and Leeds should become centres for training in industrial personnel and welfare.

Economies might be effected in securing the best possible equipment by pooling the resources of two or even more universities. In some subjects, such as, for instance, social and industrial psychology taught on lines appropriate for modern requirements, there are not enough lecturers to meet the supply even if money were available for their remuneration. Universities in this small island might share the services of a professor or lecturer and in this way secure a teacher of the first rank.

Similarly this process of pooling resources may be applied to facilities for practical work. Already some schools arrange for their students to gain experience in centres where social and industrial problems are presented in a more acute form. The Scottish, Welsh, or Provincial student should come to London and, even more important, the London student should explore the industrial areas of Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, the coalfields of South Wales, and the Clydeside.¹

Universities are more likely to exert themselves to provide a more adequate equipment if they are convinced that there will be a sufficient regular supply of students. Medical schools and education departments have no lack of students, since doctors and teachers are wanted in their thousands. But the demand for social workers has been in the past much less certain. At the present moment the supply is

¹ Some social organizations already insist on this interchange for their trainees.

inadequate and the chances are that this state of things will continue after the war unless once again we weakly succumb to a national economy campaign in the social services and the "axing" of social workers.

But even if the demand continues there are various obstructions to a supply of the best type of entrant which should be removed as speedily as possible.

The first, with which I have already dealt with fully, is concerned with the difficulty of entering the higher ranks of the Civil Service except by competitive examination at an early age. This, as we have seen, rules out senior men and women who have undertaken post graduate social study training and had opportunities of personal experience in favour of graduates straight from the universities. Closely connected with this must be taken into account the uncertain prospects of social workers. Young women, even those whose education has been long and costly, are often willing and able to take some branch of social work which attracts them as a career though it may offer relatively low remuneration and few chances of promotion. But men who look forward to marriage and a family are not in a position to do so. Hence the smaller number of men found in schools of social study. With possibilities of openings of responsibility in the higher ranks of the Public Services after training followed by some years of valuable experience, the supply of first-class entrants would inevitably improve.

The second—the cost of prolonged education and training—of course applies equally to other professions though in the case of social work it is increased by the relative lowness of salaries and the uncertain prospects. Up to the present time there have been few sources of financial help. Only a small number of bursaries are available and there are limited opportunities of grants or loans from special voluntary funds. During the war the Board of Education has awarded grants towards the expenses of training for approved candi-

dates for youth leadership and in future youth leaders are likely to receive facilities for training as teachers. The Home Office, as we have seen, before the war met the expenses of full time university courses of training for selected candidates for probation work. Local authorities have, in some places, given occasional grants towards social study courses, but no information is available as to the extent of this.

This extension of opportunities of training to all suitable candidates irrespective of their financial ability to meet the cost is a matter of first importance. It is encouraging to see that the report of the planning committee of the Royal College of Physicians recommends that in order to widen the field from which medical students are selected all university education should be free and that there should be maintenance grants to students in need of help.¹ But the need for doctors is obvious to every man and women; the need for social workers is only beginning to be understood. A definite advance has, however, been made; an infiltration of trained social workers in Whitehall during the war has had good results. To-day, indeed, the whole position may be transformed by the reply to a question in Parliament when the Minister of Labour stated that the provision for training social workers is almost identical with that of teachers.² This is a hopeful augury for the future and universities and social organizations must claim the redemption of this promise. The third obstruction to an adequate flow of the best type of candidate is to be found in the conditions of work—the relatively low salaries and limited opportunities of promotion.³ Workers engaged in the public services or

¹ Royal College of Physicians of London Planning Committee Report on Medical Education, April, 1944.

² *Hansard*, Thursday, 4th May, 1944, column 1451. Reply to question by Miss Irene Ward.

³ The Rushcliffe Nurses Salaries Committee, 1943, Cmd. 6424, gives proposals for higher salaries for health visitors and superintendents whose work is essentially social work. See discussion of salaries, Appendix.

voluntary organizations naturally belong to their appropriate association, but generally speaking their concern is for the well-being of the service rather than the conditions of employment. But social workers have proved their worth never more than during the present war, and the tendency is for salaries to rise. If these sentences should be read by any young aspirants for social service, I hope they will not be unduly discouraged. If they have a strong urge in this direction my advice is to go ahead fearlessly, fortified by an all-round university education and training which will give them not only a sound educational background, but a wide field of choice, with possibilities of transfer if desired in later life.

So much for difficulties—our last words must be devoted to the great possibilities which lie in front of social administration. To-day the world has become smaller and the future worker must find opportunities of study and experience and, to an increasing degree, service overseas. Thanks largely to American generosity, a beginning in this direction was made before the war. The International Committee of Schools of Social Work under the leadership of Dr. Alice Saloman held its meetings in different European countries and had as one of its objects the interchange of students.¹ Equally important, and here again a beginning has been made, is the interchange of staff. We have much to learn from the United States and Canada, where the importance attached to training for administration, has been recognized in a way that puts us to shame. Experiments in other countries between the wars, where the social services were newer and untrammelled by the handicap of obsolete tradition, are now crushed. But the desire shown by representatives of allied countries in London ² for special training, with a view to post-war needs, proves that the spirit has

¹ See *Education for Social Work*, Alice Saloman, 1937. Leplay House, Albert Road, South Malvern.

² Courses of study provided by the Universities and the British Council.

triumphed over temporary eclipse, and that the end of the war will find men and women ready to face the problems which lie before them.

The modern school of social study can no longer carry on intensive culture in its own little plot of ground; it must find a place in the International movement. But such a liberal attitude must begin at home. Many social workers in this country have little knowledge of life outside their own area. This ignorance of conditions prevailing in different parts of our own small islands was apparent on interviewing boards for war emergency courses on which I have served during the war. Wales and Scotland, except as holiday resorts, appeared to be unknown territories. Even the North of England was regarded as beyond the favoured zone of operations. Lovers of London may sympathize with the reluctance to leave London, but for the sincere student there can be none of this little England or little London attitude. Earlier in this chapter I have referred to the importance of pooling resources for practical work and the widening of experience by moving from one part of the country to another. It often seemed to me before the war that such exchanges are more easy to bring into effect with the United States or other countries overseas than between our own universities less than a hundred miles apart.

Difficulties concerned with the cost of training, salaries, and conditions of work can be surmounted, but there remains the administrative confusion of the present position to be dealt with. To some extent the partnership between the universities and the leading practising organizations has averted a multiplication of *ad hoc* schemes of training, but since the social services have become the fashion training bodies are springing up in all directions. If training for these services should come to be recognized equally with training for teaching as an obligation of the State, some form of unification and guidance will be called for.

It is tragic to recall that before the war there was a remarkable development in the social services in all the European countries, most of them fortified by appropriate schemes of training. Such training was for the most part conducted under State regulations, and in some places this appeared to work well. Statutory control may be required for certain occupations, but for the most part it is contrary to our tradition of freedom of experiment and method.

This problem is closely associated with the need which has for some years been urged on many sides for some closer integration of the social services in the form of an inter-departmental or Cabinet Committee or even a separate Ministry. The social services penetrate into every Government department and the functions of the proposed new body would consist mainly of co-ordination. A training council for social services would present fewer difficulties. A recent conference on post-war training at which representatives were present from the Board of Education, the Home Office, the Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Labour, and the Scottish Office to meet representatives from the universities and the Federation of Social Workers pointed in the right direction. (See Appendix.)

It should not be difficult to devise a small central training council representative of the four or five departments mainly concerned with the universities and practising organizations. Such a council should have a chairman, no mere figure-head or eminent in some quite different field, but a man or woman with an intimate understanding of the subject. If it were set up at once in preparation for post-war supervision of schemes of training it would solve many problems and bring the whole question of training for the social services, both statutory and voluntary, into their correct focus.

Finally, I have tried to show that our former limited ideas as to the scope of social work must be cast aside. Social work is *not* "welfare", *not* "doing good", *not* "case work", *not* even

"relief or prevention of distress". I have tried to show that it covers much more than these. It extends to the community as a whole and is concerned with all efforts to create throughout the world equal opportunities—physical, economic, intellectual, and spiritual for all. In this great task there are many labourers and many different varieties of service, but in a greater or less degree they are all working together for a better society.

I think it was Lord Baldwin who, in addressing the Institute of Public Administration, once said that the Prime Minister should be called the Prime Servant. In the same sense every labourer in the field of administration, from Parliament and the Civil Service to representatives of voluntary organizations and all who love their neighbours as themselves, are social servants.

We have been told that administration is not a subject which can be taught. But surely this is to take a very narrow view of what administration means. Social administration is not composed of a series of mechanical and routine acts like administering doses of medicine out of a bottle. It calls for trained understanding of society and its inherited problems and not less trained knowledge of the complex nature of the individuals who compose society. Cardinal Newman in *The Idea of a University* gives a description of a mind that has been completely and perfectly educated; I venture to quote his words as describing the mind of the social worker whose studies of history, psychology, and philosophy are reinforced by the charity that suffereth long and is kind.

"It is almost prophetic from its knowledge of history; it is almost heart-searching from its knowledge of human nature; it has almost supernatural charity from its freedom from littleness and prejudice; it has almost the repose of faith, because nothing can startle it; it has almost the beauty and harmony of heavenly contemplation, so intimate is it with the eternal order of things and the music of the spheres."

APPENDIX I

1. *A New Ministry of Social Insurance.*

Since Chapter 9 was written a noteworthy step forward in the development of British Social Services has been taken. A new Government Department has been established, under the title Ministry of National Insurance, with Sir William Jowitt as its first Minister. This new Ministry, in spite of the limitations of its title, should go a long way towards the integration of the Social Services, which has been so strongly urged. It will cover all the different forms of insurance benefit met by cash allowances, including, through the medium of the Assistance Board, financial assistance apart from insurance when required. Before this book appears the necessary legislation will have passed through Parliament and the new Minister will at once take over certain functions from the Ministries of Health and Labour and the Home Office, including national health insurance, old age pensions, widows, orphans' and old age contributory pensions, supplementary pensions, unemployment insurance and assistance, and workmen's compensation. (See Ministry of National Insurance Act, introduced November, 1944.)

2. *A Central Council for Social Training.*

The report of the Committee appointed to consider the supply, recruitment, and training of teachers and youth leaders, commonly called the McNair Report, unexpectedly reinforces some of my tentative suggestions for the future of social study in this country. It would, of course, be a mistake to stretch too far the analogy between the training of teachers and the training of social workers, but the arguments for the proposed administrative changes seem to me to apply with almost equal force to both. Moreover, it must be remembered that the recommendations of the report cover youth leaders who are, in fact, drawn from both professions.

In the first place, there is unanimous agreement on the proposal to establish a Central Training Council to be appointed by the President of the Board of Education (now the Minister), which should be charged with the duty of advising the Board (now the Ministry) on matters relating to the supply and training of teachers. On page 134 of this book I have proposed a somewhat differently constituted Council, which should bring together representatives of different Government departments concerned with the social services, including a representative of the Treasury (possibly the director of training and education proposed by the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, see Appendix I, 9), of the universities, and other bodies interested in training. As at least five different departments are affected, it was not self-evident, as in the case of education, who should appoint this Council, but to-day in Sir William Jowitt, Minister of Social Insurance, we have the obvious person. The functions of such a Council should be mainly directed to the consideration of training for the statutory social services. The present position is in a state of utter chaos. Some departments train "on the job". Others (notably the Assistance Board) are, as we have seen, experimenting in a systematic scheme of in-service training. The Civil Service Council for Further Education has already announced a "social security" diploma to be instituted in 1945, for which tuition, in preparation for examinations, is offered in London and in centres throughout the country. There are numerous Boards and Institutes which conduct examinations on different branches of the public services, and there are countless correspondence courses, some carefully supervised, with others which, I fear, would not survive scrutiny.

3. *The University as the Centre of Training.*

Perhaps even more apposite to the consideration of training for the social services is a very interesting discussion which takes place within the McNair Report on the best method of securing the better integration of the institutions which are responsible for the education and training of

teachers. Here the signatories are sharply divided into two equal camps, the main difference between them being the part to be played by the universities. One half, including the two university members of the Committee, favour the formation of what is called "a Joint Board Scheme". The other half propose that universities should establish Schools of Education to consist of an organic federation of approved training institutions to be governed by a delegacy consisting of representatives of the university, of training institutions, and the Local Education Authorities.

It is, of course, not my business to come down on one side or the other so far as the training of teachers is concerned. But I have tried in my third chapter to show that in the region of social study there is a strong case for the university as the centre of education and training. The universities have already a good start in this matter, and have acquired valuable experience in preparing for such a hydra-headed profession. But the universities, as at present constituted at all events, are unable to provide for the very large numbers of students who are likely to present themselves at the end of the war, with the inevitable result that innumerable new mushroom schemes of training are springing into existence. The "unintegrated variety of existing training institutions" referred to in the McNair Report as demanding a "carefully planned yet flexible scheme" of co-ordination, applies no less to social study than to education.

What, then, is the solution? I have already suggested a training council to bring some order into the present confusion (see Note 2). Is there not an equally strong case for the recognition of the university as the central point of training, with an outer ring of autonomous federated institutions linked, not only by a common purpose, but by a common administrative plan.

4. *Salaries.*

It is difficult to discuss the question of salaries for a relatively new profession which, as we have seen, is composed of heterogeneous occupations with widely different

responsibilities, qualifications, and standards. Some of these are regulated by statutory requirements as in the Civil Service; others by agreed scales, and the large majority by the unreliable law of demand and supply. This is not a good moment to institute an inquiry into the subject, though it might well form part of the future reference of the Central Training College which has been envisaged. Some years ago Miss Ellinor Black, of the University of Liverpool, in an article reprinted from the *Social Service Review, U.S.A.* (vol. 6, No. 1, March, 1932, reprint o.p.) on the salaries and status of women social workers in Great Britain, arrived at some conclusions which, to a large extent, still hold. She found that the range of salaries in social work does not compare unfavourably with those in other occupations requiring a similar amount of training. This, I think, is true to-day. Salaries of social workers correspond to some extent at least with those assessed by the Burnham Scale for teachers,¹ or the Rushcliffe Scale for health visitors. But this is not to say that they are adequate. The McNair Report recommends that salaries of teachers in primary and secondary schools should be substantially increased (see chapter 3 of the Report, which should be studied by anyone interested in this subject). In other directions some improvement has taken place. For instance, to-day advertisements for different branches of social service increasingly often ask for a university degree or diploma. Further, superannuation and pension schemes are much more usual to-day than hitherto.

Salaries, as in other professions, are higher for men than for women. The most recent scale announced is for probation officers (1944, No. $\frac{700}{L. 30}$), where the proportion of men is greater than women. Full-time men officers rise from a minimum of £240 to a maximum of £450 a year, and in the case of women to a maximum of £360. Principal or special probation officers may, with the approval of the Secretary of State, be given a higher scale of salary.

¹ The new scales of the Burnham Committee issued in November, 1944, propose higher salaries than those now ordinarily paid to social workers—a minimum of £270 for women and £300 for men with additions for graduates.

In other branches of social service where women predominate, salaries range from a minimum of about £220 to £250 for assistantships, to £350 or £400 a year, and in some cases as, for instance, head almoners in teaching hospitals, or personnel managers in factories, to a higher figure. At the present time a war bonus is usually offered. There is a close connection between the length and cost of training and the salaries and future prospects of the student. In my Chapters 7 and 9 I urge an alternative method of entrance to the higher and executive branches of the Civil Service. Such opportunities in the public services as well as in the higher levels of other branches of the social services should carry salaries which would justify a prolonged period of education and training. Generally speaking, training fees for diploma or certificate courses in social study, which vary to some extent in different universities, are not high when compared with those for other forms of training. The student who can contrive to postpone earning and either live at home or find the cost of maintenance, will not find the financial strain unduly heavy.

5. *Trained School Social Service.*

The question of a trained social service in the schools is not so simple as it sounds. What are now called "extraneous duties" cover clerical work, school meals, and other activities which certainly should not be undertaken by the already overworked teachers. On the other hand, a trained social worker, as, for instance, a care committee worker under the London County Council, is concerned with the social "follow up" of the children rather than with special technical duties. The right alignment of the social activities which centre around the school is a matter which has been neglected too long, and should at once occupy the attention of the Minister and Local Education Authorities.

(Just as I reluctantly part with my Appendix Notes comes the announcement of a scheme from the Ministry of Education to relieve teachers of the duties referred to above. The Local Authorities are urged to make every effort to

obtain *secretarial* and *domestic* (my italics) help for their schools. Where paid help is definitely impossible, that invaluable body, the Women's Voluntary Services (W.V.S.), hope to come to the rescue. This is important, but it does not concern trained social work and cannot affect my plea for the immediate examination of the staffing for the "School Social Service".)

6. *Children in Institutions.*

In the summer of 1944 the Provisional National Council of Mental Health, with the aid of a grant from the Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, undertook to make an inquiry into the effects on young children brought up in institutions. In November of the same year a notice of motion signed by members of all the political parties, urged the Government to appoint a Committee "to inquire publicly into the provision made by Government departments, local authorities, and charities for children deprived of a normal home life and to make recommendations".

7. (a) *Administration of Justice.*

Although the Report of the Departmental Committee on Justices' Clerks (1944, Cmd. 6507) points out that the Clerk has an important part to play in the social field and that his relations with probation officers should be close and sympathetic, they make no reference to the importance of some specialized training on the social side.

(b) *Women Police.*

Speaking in 1937 when Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood) described the policeman "as one of the important officers of the social services, often called upon to give advice, to prevent crime . . . and always working with a background of complicated legislation". I have not attempted to discuss training on the social side for the police service (see the *Equipment of the Social Worker*, pages 143-6), but it is a subject which calls for attention.

8. *Training for Social Medicine.*

There is a valuable chapter (Chapter 3) on Training for Social Medicine in *The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Schools*, appointed by the Minister of Health and Secretary of State for Scotland, which reported in 1944. A close association between the university medical school and the university department or school of social study is not specifically mentioned, but in a section dealing with "the participation of social workers in the teaching of social medicine" it is stated that a teaching hospital should have an Almoner's Department and that "Almoners should participate to the fullest possible extent in the training of medical students", also that "the services of other social workers, such as psychiatric social workers and health visitors, should also be fully utilized within their respective spheres in the training of students".

9. *Training of Civil Servants.*

The Committee on the Training of Civil Servants (Cmd. 6525) recommends that the Treasury should appoint a Director of Training and Education. It does not recommend the establishment of a Staff College, but it makes other interesting proposals which cover all grades of the Civil Service. (See note 2, also the Civil Service National Whitley Council Report, Cmd. 6567, issued November, 1944.)

10. *Relation between Universities and Technical Colleges.*

It is probable that the Departmental Committee referred to in my footnote on page 122 will confine its consideration to the needs of higher technological education in England and Wales. Some Technical Colleges already offer courses of social study with justification in view of the extent of the demand. The point I want to make is that all existing courses of training while preserving their independence should in some way or other be linked with the university. (See Appendix, note 2.)

APPENDIX II

The following list is taken from a pamphlet "University Courses in Social Study and Public Administration", issued by the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration in 1943 (5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1). Emergency war courses have not been included. In some universities courses in Public Administration have been temporarily suspended, but will reopen as soon as the war situation permits. Inquiries to the universities may be addressed to the Director, Department of Social Studies.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OFFERING COURSES ON SOCIAL STUDY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

	Social Study	Public Administration
Queen's University, Belfast	Certificate.	
University of Birmingham	Diploma.	
	Higher Diploma.	
University of Bristol	Testamur.	Diploma.
University of Dublin, Trinity College.	Diploma.	Diploma.
University of Durham, King's College, New- castle-upon-Tyne.		Diploma.
University of Edinburgh	Post Graduate Diploma.	Diploma in Adminis-
	University Certificate.	trative Law and Practice (Grad- uates only).
University College of the South, West Exeter.		Diploma.
University of Glasgow	Diploma.	Diploma.
	Certificate (theory only).	
University of Leeds	Diploma.	Diploma.
University of Liverpool	B.A. with Social Science as a special subject.	Diploma.
	Certificate.	
University of London— Bedford College	Certificate.	
King's College of House- hold and Social Science.	B.Sc. Household and Social Science.	

	Social Study	Public Administration
University of London— London School of Economics and Political Science.	Diploma in Sociology and Social Adminis- tration. Certificate in Social Science. Diploma. ¹	Diploma.
University Extension Tutorial Classes Council.		
University of Manchester .	Certificate in Social Administration. B.A. (Admin.) with Social Administra- tion as a special sub- ject. Diploma.	B.A. Administration. M.A. Administration. Certificate.
University College of Nottingham.		
University of Oxford.	Diploma in Public and Social Administra- tion. Certificate in Social Training. Diploma : Certificate. Diploma. Certificate.	Diploma in Public and Social Ad- ministration. Certificate in Public Administration.
University of Reading .		
University College of Southampton.		Diploma.
University of Sheffield .		
University College, Cardiff	Diploma.	Diploma.

¹ This Diploma is awarded after a course of four years' part-time study.



APPENDIX III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS CO-OPERATING WITH THE UNIVERSITIES ¹

Assistance Board	Vicarage House, Soho Square, W. 1.
British Association of Residential Settlements.	32 Gordon Square, W.C. 1.
British Federation of Social Workers	5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
Care Committee Organizers L.C.C.	Apply, Principal, Assistant Organizer, County Hall, S.E. 1.
Central Council for Women's Church Work.	5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
Charity Organization Society .	Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1.
Education Department, Royal College of Nursing.	Henrietta Place, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
Factory and Welfare Department .	Ministry of Labour and National Service, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
Family Case Work	Family Case Workers' Association, Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1.
Hospital Almoners	Institute of Hospital Almoners, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1.
House Property Management .	Society of Women Housing Managers, 13 Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
Industrial Welfare Society . .	14 Hobart Place, S.W. 1.
Institute of Labour Management	Aldwych House, Aldwych, W.C. 2.
Moral Welfare	The Warden, Josephine Butler Memorial House, 6 Abercromby Square, Liverpool, 7.
National Association Juvenile Employment and Welfare Officers.	Education Office, Birmingham, 3.
National Association of Local Government Officers.	24 Abingdon Street, S.W. 1.
National Council of Social Service .	26 Bedford Square, W.C. 1.
Probation Work	The Probation Branch, The Home Office, 50 Prince's Gate, Exhibition Road, S.W. 7.
Provisional National Council for Mental Health.	39 Queen Anne Street, W. 1.
Psychiatric Social Work . . .	Mental Health Course, The London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C. 2.
Welfare Organization of the Ministry of Health.	Whitehall, S.W. 1.
Women Public Health Officers' Association.	7 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
Women's Employment Federation	2 Cromwell Place, S.W. 1.
Youth Leadership and Club Work .	The National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, W.C. 1.

¹ Address Secretary, where not otherwise stated.

